# Daily Report

# East Europe

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# Daily Report
## East Europe

*FBIS-EEU-94-243* *19 December 1994*

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## Agreement To Establish Balkan Stock Exchange

*95P20224A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA (Southeast Europe Perspectives) in English 8 Nov 94 p 11*

[Article by V. Grlickov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The agreement on establishing the Balkan Stock Exchange, made between four stock exchanges from Romania (Arad, Timisoara, Constanta and Bucharest), one from Bulgaria (Sofia) and the goods exchange from Belgrade, marks the first step towards integration of Balkan markets. Coordination of activities of Balkan stock exchanges would in the beginning be conducted through a corresponding Association.

During November, representatives of stock exchanges should meet and start discussions about unified standards to be applied in exchange of merchandise and securities, in timed transactions and spot operations. Milko Stimac, manager of the Belgrade stock exchange, believes that trading standards should be far-reaching and adjusted to worldwide and European criteria. Required standards refer to quality of goods and form of securities (lot and bunch size). The latter is not insignificant, as it determines technical prerequities of higher value transactions. It is important to determine the size of stocks' bunch, just as it is necessary to set a measure in sugar trade, a particular size of trailer. Naturally, acceptance of would [as printed] standards in trade does not exclude respect for specific characteristics of the Balkans. It is important, for example, to get a specific standard when choosing the Balkan port for transportation (Bar, Constanta, Salonika, Burgas or other), because it is "necessary" for economic reasons. In trade terms, choice of FOB port in the Balkans is important when making decisions about price basis, that is, place and manner of taking over the goods. It is an important specific standard connected with trade and stock exchange operations, because acceptance of local FOB port might reduce trading costs by avoiding additional transportation costs from remote piers. What this means can be seen in the example of goods of strategic importance, such as wheat and copper, where basic pricing is done at the London Exchange, on FOB North Sea Port basis. It is important to mention that goods traded within the Balkans have already been assigned the Danube port as the sub-standard.

Naturally, local stock exchange officials intend to locate the center of Balkan stock exchange and trade in Belgrade, i.e., to make interested parties come to Belgrade to make their deals with goods and securities. Natural advantages of Belgrade are: its geographical position on an important vertical route and on the point connecting Europe and the Middle East, and its economic potentials which are larger than that of other two countries. Also, appropriate infrastructure and technology enabling unobstructed exchange of goods and stocks already exist here.

Finally, it is worth noting that the agreement on establishment of the Balkan stock exchange, made between four Romanian, one Bulgarian and the local Belgrade exchange, must not be understood as an operative act which starts the inter-Balkan trade. It is a suggestion for establishment of the Balkan stock exchange, and interested stock exchanges from other countries should give their comments about it. Final agreement about this matter must first be reached on the governmental level.

On the other hand, it is important to say that a similar idea about a Balkan stock exchange originated in Greece (they claim their idea was older). The limiting factor there, however, are strict European Community standards which, since Greece is its member, would be applied. At the same time, it is important that all these ideas plan incorporation of all parts of the Balkans, i.e., Albania, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]... In that case, harbors in Croatia and Slovenia could become possible FOB ports.

The Rotterdam stock exchange showed interest in establishment of the Balkan stock exchange. They offered their technical assistance with such an establishment. At the same time, there is an Italian idea that Italy be the meeting place for Balkan trade and stock exchanges. That would, of course, entail considerably wider business aspects than local Balkan ideas.

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### Meksi on Ties With Egypt, Bosnian War

*NC1712081694 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0655 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Cairo, 17 Dec (MENA)—Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi has affirmed his country's wish to boost ties of friendship and cooperation with Egypt in all spheres.

In an interview with AL-AHRAM today, Meksi said many accords to expand cooperation between Egypt and Albania—such as a cultural, scientific, and technical exchange program for 1993, [as received] '94, and '95—will be signed during his current visit to Cairo. Meksi added that trade agreements and a protocol for technical and scientific cooperation will also be signed.

Commenting on the situation in Bosnia in light of the continuing Serb attacks, the prime minister called for decisive and quick intervention by NATO forces and the United Nations to stop further bloodshed in Bosnia and to stop the war from spreading to other areas.

He warned of the dangers of the war in Bosnia spreading to the Kosovo region and noted the need for the presence of international forces to keep peace in the region.

### Police Turn Back Journalists at FYROM Border

*AU1712191094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[Report by Bujar Muharremi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear television viewers, we have just returned here to the studio, we the radio-television team invited by the council for the foundation of the Albanian university in Tetove to attend the inauguration of this university—which will be a marked day in the national history of education, culture, and the entire history of the Albanian nation. Unfortunately, the Macedonian police did not allow us to enter the territory of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] to realize this noble task in conformity with the aspirations of the Albanian people. They did not give any reason for turning us back. They just said that entrance is not allowed.

Talking with customs officials in our country, we were informed that the Macedonian police and, in particular, the Macedonian authorities, have established, the past 48 hours, a strict system for policing the entry of Albanian nationals into the territory of the FYROM.

These conversations thus confirm that approximately 70 percent of Albanian citizens have not been allowed, yesterday and today, to cross the border into Macedonia. As you watch the video footage showing our efforts to enter Macedonia today, you can see that in many passports, there is a seal stamped with the words: entrance forbidden. No bus of Albanian passengers was allowed to enter the FYROM today. Yesterday, the Macedonian police also sent back our colleagues, correspondents from KOHA JONE newspaper, and did not allow them to go to Tetove.

Unofficial data confirm that Albanian citizens are now to pay a custom tax of 40 German marks, i.e. two times more than before.

The establishment of such a strict police system for Albanian citizens only is an indication that the Macedonian authorities are based on a police state concepts. They are afraid of the Albanian-language university and of the RTSh's journalists, as well as of simple Albanian citizens.

### Turkish General Meets With Berisha, Departs

*AU1812140094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha today received the chief of the Turkish Army General Staff, Army General Ismail Karaday.

President Berisha said: I have the pleasure of receiving you in Albania and I would like to confirm that relations between our two peoples and countries are very good and have a large realm of friendship and cooperation. I would also like to express my deep gratitude for the very valuable aid that your country has given and continues to give Albania in all spheres, including the military. Albania is determined to contribute to peace and stability in the region of the Balkans and the cooperation with Turkey serves this goal. Our Army is engaged in a deep restructuring reform, during which we have considerably valued your support. In this reform, we are trying to implement the standards of Western armies.

Gen. Karaday conveyed the warmest of greetings from Turkish President Demirel and Prime Minister Ciller, who assured President Berisha of their complete commitment to strengthening friendship and cooperation between Turkey and Albania. Karaday stated that Turkey is also ready to, in the future, contribute to increasing the defense capability of the Republic of Albania by bolstering cooperation and military assistance.

The high-ranking Turkish military delegation left our country today. Defense Minister Safet Zhulali; Major General Sheme Kosova, chief of the Army General Staff; and other high-ranking Defense Ministry officers were at Rinas Airport to see Gen. Karady off. Metin Ornekkol, Turkish ambassador in Tirana, was also present.

### Government Proclaims 'Emergency' Energy Situation

*AU1812140194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[Report by Timo Luto]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The government held an urgent meeting at noon tday on the grave electrical situation in the country. The nation's prefects and energy sector leaders and specialists also took part in the meeting, alongside members of the government. Abdyl Xhaja, minister of energy and mineral resources, reported on the grave energy situation. At the end of the meeting, we interviewed Deputy Prime Minister Dashamir Shehi.

[Begin Shehi recording] In reality, the situation is extraordinary and, unfortunately, it has been extraordinary for some time now. Today, however, since we see no other alternative due to the lack of rainfall, it was finally decided to come out with such a decision and to label the situation extraordinary. [passage omitted]

It is a matter of meteorological phenomena that have not been seen for the past 100 years. This situation has never occurred, in times of the driest summer, nor in winter. We have not experienced a meteorological situation like this over a period of 100 years. This has caused some of the hydroelectric power stations, such as those over the Mat River, to be shut down and not produce electrical energy at all—and those in the north, which used to be Albania's greatest producers, to be below their limit. If this weather situation continues, then we will face the closing down of hydroelectric power stations after a few days. [passage omitted]

I would like to appeal to the populace to become aware of the difficulties our electric power grid is facing. [passage omitted] I would like to appeal to citizens to be aware that the national power grid cannot be built every day. If we do not respect this rationing and limitation of electrical energy, we could possibly find ourselves left definitively without electric energy after 10 days. [passage omitted] [end recording]

To face the extraordinary energy situation, the government today decided:

—To proclaim an emergency situation as regards the energy situation created in our country.

—To proclaim as objects of special importance all hydroelectric power stations, thermoelectric power stations, electricity-generating plants, and electric substations of a capacity greater than 35 kilovolts. These facilities should be put under the protection of the forces of order, with permanent guards until a further decision is reached.

—To stop all industrial consumers. The rules for disconnecting, in respect of electrical energy consumption quotas, are to be determined by the staffs that will be set up. The decisions of the staffs are mandatory. Hydroelectric power stations and thermoelectric power stations should operate at full capacity, without considering the great increase in expense, particularly at thermoelectric power stations.

—To take other organizational measures.

This decision takes effect immediately.

### Kosovo President Comments on Overseas Visit

*AU1812153094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosova Republic President Dr. Ibrahim Rugova and his associates returned from an official visit of several days to the United States, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and other countries during which Rugova discussed the situation in Kosova. He gave the following interview regarding his recent visit to the aforementioned countries to Albanian television:

[Correspondent Bujar Muharremi, identified by caption] Mr. President, would you like to comment on the results of this long diplomatic visit to the United States and a number of European countries?

[Rugova] I can assert that I am coming back from an important and very successful visit to the United States and Germany. I can say that it was a very successful visit, particularly the one in the United States. I had the honor of meeting high-level officials of the Clinton Administration such as Anthony Lake, the adviser for national security affairs; Madeleine Albright, who is very well-known; and Talbott, a deputy secretary who showed great understanding about the Kosova issue. We held friendly and very cordial talks and met with members of the U.S. Congress both Republican and Democrat, such as Senators Dole, Engel, DeConcini, etc., who promised support to the Kosova issue.

In Germany, I met Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, who assured us that he will further support the Kosova issue.

Some time ago, as you stressed, we visited other European countries, such as The Netherlands, Belgium, and Switzerland, where I held high-level meetings just like in the United States. All of them assured us of support for the Kosova issue and the Albanian matter in general. I can say that I am very very satisfied with my recent tour.

[Muharremi] Mr. President, would you like to comment on the UN statement on violation of human rights and freedoms in Kosova?

[Rugova] This is a very important statement approved by the United Nations. We are very happy. It was presented by Albania and sponsored by many other countries, including a majority of the members of the UN Security Council, i.e. the permanent members. It is quite an important document that addresses the issue of human rights in Kosova and proposes solutions to this situation.

[Muharremi] Thank you.

### Berisha, Rugova Discuss Kosovo, FYROM Events

*AU1812153294 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] President Sali Berisha this evening received Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the

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Republic of Kosova. The two presidents discussed the results of Mr. Rugova's visits to the United States and Germany, the situation in the region, and current developments in Kosova and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM]. They stressed the deep concern of the United States and Germany over the mounting repression in Kosova and appraised the support that these two countries have granted to prevent the conflict in Kosova—as well as their full commitment to finding a solution to this complicated problem.

Regarding events in Macedonia, the two presidents said that stability in this country is very important not only for Macedonia itself but for the entire region. They are of the opinion that the opening of the university and schools of higher education schools for Albanians there in conformity with international law and the Constitution and legislation of Macedonia constitutes a very important event for Albanians in the FYROM and the Albanian world in general. This augments the role, participation, and contribution of Albanians toward stability, development, and prosperity in that republic.

The two presidents stressed that dialgoue, not violence, is the way to reduce interethnic tensions and resolve problems related to the protection of the human and national rights and freedoms of Albanians, which is in the interest of all sides concerned with the stability of the FYROM.

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### President Urges, Stresses Importance of Voting

*AU1712183294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 94*

["Address by President Zhelyu Zhelev to nation in connection with early parliamentary elections on 18 December"—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Compatriots: Just a few hours before the start of the elections, I would like to remind our politicians of a few conclusions and lessons from the modest but very important experience of elections that we have gained since 1989. The people are generous and good when they give their trust and support to their elected representatives. They are magnanimous and lenient when they forgive their representatives' first mistakes and failures. However, the people are merciless when they realize that those for whom they voted have forgotten them, that those whom they sent to parliament have forgotten why they went there.

At the same time, taking as my motive the mistakes and weak aspects of the work of the 36th ordinary National Assembly—which, in fact, prompted the present early elections—I would also like to address the millions of Bulgarian voters: Do not allow yourselves, because of the misadventures of the 36th National Assembly, to be infected with a negative attitude toward parliament, parliamentarians, and parliamentarianism in general. Do not yield to the temptation, as a result of our (?experience), to conceive a hatred for (?this sacred idea). I consider it necessary to say this because in our country there are interested circles that, deliberately and in a planned manner, have been, and are currently, working to discredit the state institutions. Parliament is a key institution in a modern democracy, and without it the democratic process is absolutely impossible. Regardless of the form of state government, under the present form of representative democracy, parliament has two basic roles to fulfill, roles in which no one can replace it: to create the country's laws and to elect from its own members a strong, effective, and responsible executive. This is why the fundamental question is not whether we should cast our votes and take part in the election of a new parliament, but rather how are we to elect the good parliament that Bulgaria deserves and needs. For this reason I too will allow myself to appeal to all of you to cast your votes, irrespective of the bitterness and disappointments that you have experienced, and to take part on a massive scale in the early parliamentary elections. Do not relinquish your right to vote. Do not allow others to decide, instead of you; to determine, on your behalf and on behalf of your families, the fate of the country in which you live and work.

I would like to make a special appeal to Bulgaria's young people. Even under the present electoral law, which the deputies of the former National Assembly did not promise to amend, it is possible to elect a much better parliament only if the people vote on a massive scale and according to their consciences. Do not lend your ears to the whisperings insinuating that your fate will be sealed unless you vote for this or that political force. This can really happen only if many people surrender to such insinuations. Listen to the voice of your own consciences because it will tell you how you should act.

Under the realities existing at present in our country, only two things can produce a new, better parliament for Bulgaria: first, mass participation in the elections; and, second, voting according to conscience. This is the key to creating a parliament that is representative of the nation and of the entire Bulgarian people; a parliament that will work constructively and not block its own activity in endless and senseless political fighting; a parliament that will be capable of electing from its midst a strong, responsible government and will not simply gaze idly, with criminal irresponsibility, at the chaos, lawlessness, and anarchy in the country.

Esteemed electors, you, only you can do this by casting your votes intelligently—you and no one else!

*Ministry Reports No Major Election Incidents*

*AU1812180094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[Report by Lyubomir Rozenshtayn from the press center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Operational Staff of the Ministry of Internal Affairs reports that the elections today took place in a calm atmosphere. The police had to intervene in several minor incidents at a number of polling stations at the request of the pertinent election commissions. Such cases have been reported from Sliven, Ogarchin, Gutsal Village, the Samokov region, and Devnya, where minor ruckuses developed, but these were immediately brought under control by the police. Two anonymous threatening telephone calls were received—at the polling stations in Sapareva Banya and Kleminir Village, General Toshev region. Nothing was found by the specialized organs, which conducted a quick check, and the elections continue normally.

The duty unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has received no reports of serious or particularly dangerous crimes. The police will guard the transportation of the protocols and other documents, which the polling stations will send to the regional electoral commissions when voting at the sections has completely ended.

The Sofia Interior Ministry Directorate reports that in Sofia a youth suffered a gunshot injury to the leg, when a ruckus broke out between three youths and two policemen over a parking place.

### Preliminary Election Results Reported

*AU1912112094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Our reporter Zlatina Georgieva is at the Central Electoral commission [CEC]. What are the most important developments?

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[Georgieva] The processing of the data continues smoothly. So far we have results based on 92 percent of the returns received by the CEC. CEC spokesperson Ralitsa Negentsova summarizes the results:

[Negentsova] Good day. I have preliminary results based on 92 percent of the returns received by the CEC. Some 75 percent of the citizens have voted. The results:

Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—23.85 percent;

People's Union—Democratic Party and Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]—6.52 percent;

Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]—5.50 percent;

Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB]—4.76 percent;

Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]-Aleksandur Stamboliyski BZNS- Ecoglasnost Political Club Coalition—43.73 percent.

I know that all of you are interested in the fate of Democratic Alternative for the Republic [DAR], which hovers on the 4 percent barrier. On the basis of 92 percent of the election returns DAR has 3.81 percent so far.

### BSP Says Satisfied With 'Successful' Balloting

*AU1812202094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] held its first news conference at Sofia's Palace of Culture.

Klara Marinova, Nikolay Kamov, and Rosen Khubenov expressed satisfaction with the successful election day.

More than 80 reports on violations have been received by the Central Electoral Commission, but they are not significant and do not cast a shadow over the elections.

According to the BSP representatives the elections again demonstrated that the democratization process in Bulgaria is irreversible.

### BSP Leader Videnov Views Election Outcome

*AU1812215094 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[Statement by Bulgarian Socialist Party Chairman Zhan Videnov at a news conference at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] I want to congratulate the nation on the successful parliamentary elections. The high activity of the Bulgarian voters categorically disproved certain hasty claims of adherents of the strong hand and opponents of the parliamentary republic to the effect that the disgust of Bulgarian citizens with politics, political forces, and politicians is great and requires a change in our constitutional model. On the contrary: The Bulgarian voters proved that they have confidence in their politicians, especially those politicians and political forces that conduct a responsible policy. They have a sense of realism, with which they punished those who do not meet the requirements of this historical moment for our country.

According to all projections we have heard up to now, the red ballot of the coalition BSP-Aleksandur Stamboliyski Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]-Ecoglasnost Political Club has won the parliamentary elections.

I must say that we think that this is not so much the victory of a certain political force, coalition, or leadership as it is a victory for the entire country. Bulgarian citizens hour will be able to go calmly to their beds at this late hour. They proved that the BSP and its coalition partners are the most influential political force in the country today, and they are prepared to entrust it with solving the gravest problems of the crisis and implementing the most responsible changes within the framework of the transition. This is something our political opponents have rejected categorically for a long time—I mean the past several years. Obviously, their opinion completely contradicted the opinion and expectations of the overwhelming part of our population.

The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] defeat—which is the second major result of the elections—is not merely the rejection of a political force but the rejection of a policy. I think the voters punished the blue [SDS] coalition because of its policy aimed at civic confrontation and based on incompetence, irresponsibility, and restoration.

I think that the radical right was soundly defeated, perhaps even definitively—but this is something the near future will show. We are glad that, obviously, the future parliament that was elected today will be more representative than the previous one and will be richer in political forces with diverse but not opposing and confronting political lines. We will cooperate with all parliamentary groups, according to their willingness to do so and their constructive character, and we would like to see them reciprocate.

I think that the problems our country faces are grave, but our people demonstrated today that they want those problems solved in a better way, and we shall succeed in doing that. Thank you very much.

### SDS Rejects BSP Claim of Election Victory

*AU1812200394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1933 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The first briefing of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has just ended. Our reporter Mariya Tsenkova was at the briefing. Good evening.

[Tsenkova] Good evening. This was the first briefing at the Press Center. Asen Agov, Petur Stoyanov, and Vasil Gotsev made statements.

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Asen Agov assessed the SDS' election campaign and the population's activity. He said that the participation of so many voters was a great victory for the democratic process. He assessed the SDS campaign as excellent and highly organized.

Mr. Agov said: As regards the declarations of our opponents, we think it is too early to talk about their victory. This is a part of their comprehensive campaign to blackmail the population, he said.

Mr. Petur Stoyanov said that it is imprudent to force a preliminary assessment on the population. There still is no precise information, and the election day has not ended officially. Such statements could influence those Bulgarian citizens who vote after 1900 [1700 GMT].

Vasil Gotsev described the publication of a preliminary election result as not only illegal but also impossible. This cannot be done before the end of the election day, he said, and he ended by saying that the election victory will belong to the SDS.

### DAR Seen as Balancer in New Parliament

*95P20281A Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 5 Dec 94 pp 1, 9*

[Interview with Asen Michkovski by Todor Tokin, date and place not given: "DAR Will Be the True Balancer in the Next Parliament;" first paragraph is TRUD introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairman of the economic commission in the 36th National Assembly says that the Democratic Alternative for the Republic (DAR) has taken a stand in favor of the implementation of a policy of civilized economic nationalism. A draft law for the protection of local industry, crafts, and trade, which is a contemporary reading of Stambolov [19th century prime minister] from a hundred years ago, is ready—according to its author, Asen Michkovski. Michkovski reportedly has a special program for the development of the Blagoevgrad region, where he heads the electoral list for the DAR. He believes that the DAR will be the third political force in the future parliament and the true Bulgarian balancer between the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]. Michkovksi asserts: "This will give us the opportunity to impose our views on management."

[Tokin] How do you conduct your electoral campaign, Mr. Michkovski? Blagoevgrad is an interesting area.

[Michkovski] The DAR cannot complain about the affection and interest of the voters in the Blagoevgrad region. Our meetings attract extraordinarily great interest. Unfortunately, the voters are deprived of the opportunity to witness a truly extensive political discussion because of the fears of the DAR's political opponents, who have prevented the DAR from participating in the debates. The electoral campaign conducted by the head of the SDS in Blagoevgrad, Filip Dimitrov, who holds his meetings in secret places like conspiratorial gatherings, is especially criminal. He and the head of the BSP's electoral list, Mr. Konstadinov, have a standing invitation. They are welcome to come to an electoral debate with the DAR whenever they wish, and on whatever topic they wish. As far as the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization] is concerned, that is an organization for which I have the deepest respect. But I believe it has made a gross error in forming a coalition with the SDS. The VMRO is a national patriotic organization which should not choose some of the extremists in our country's political life. But that is the VMRO's problem.

[Tokin] How is the DAR program received? What are its most appealing aspects for the electorate?

[Michkovski] The DAR has put forward a most attractive electoral program. We are for the comprehensive defense of Bulgaria's national production. In this respect, we declare our support for a policy of civilized economic nationalism.

[Tokin] What do you mean by this term?

[Michkovski] The DAR is ready to submit a draft law for the defense of local industry, crafts, and trade. It represents a contemporary reading of Stambolski's law for the defense of local industry of 1895. In this draft law, we envision a system of preferences for Bulgarian producers. Any Bulgarian citizen who has lived at least five years in Bulgaria or any Bulgarian family that initiates new production or opens a factory, workshop, atelier, or farm should be able to import the necessary equipment or machinery without paying customs fees and taxes on them. They should be exempt from the value-added tax and income tax for a period of 15 years. The draft law also provides for a 20- percent reduction in the transportation rates of the Bulgarian State Railways for the transportation of such a person's products, utilities, and raw materials. Such people should obtain controlled portions from obshtina [township] and state-owned land on a priority basis to build their factories, warehouses, etc., and should have the opportunity to purchase them under favorable conditions for a continuous period of time—15 years and at a reasonable price. In addition to that, Bulgarian producers should have priority in answering the requirements of obshtina and state bodies for goods and services.

[Tokin] But won't all of these preferences lead to changes in the foreign trade regime?

[Michkovski] Yes, and in the customs policy as well. Traditional Bulgarian goods and manufactured products should be protected from uncontrolled influxes of foreign goods. This leads to a de-industrialization of the country and to the destruction of the national economy. Let's consider the absolute irresponsibility and unpatriotic policy conducted by the SDS government in this respect. Its consequences are pernicious. We are in favor of the restoration of our positions in the Russian market and in the markets of the other former Soviet republics

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to the maximum extent possible. We consider the nullification of our economic relations with Russia and the other former Soviet republics that was effected by Filip Dimitrov's government to be a gross error and a betrayal of national interests. The DAR has the ability and the methods to recapture these markets. In this way, the undertakings of Bulgarian enterprises will be secured and we will reduce unemployment in the country.

[Tokin] Is it your idea to reconstruct the people's banks and credit cooperatives?

[Michkovski] They have demonstrated their vitality in helping the Bulgarian economy during the most difficult times of their development under crisis conditions. The credit cooperatives and the people's banks are in a position to assure long-term, low-interest-rate credits for the needs of Bulgarian producers and merchants in a streamlined and expeditious manner, since the goal of the credit cooperative is mutual assistance and not earning profits from interest charges. If the interest rate is 75 percent at commercial banks, it will be three times lower at the people's banks and credit cooperatives. This is why we are in favor of the restitution of ownership in the people's banks and their development as the most versatile credit institutions in terms of the region. This is because the commercial banks are not interested in extending credits of 15, 20, or 50,000 leva.

[Tokin] Is the DAR program realistic? Are there people who can carry it out?

[Michkovski] We are not people who go around making promises without a clear conscience, promises that will sooner or later have to be fulfilled. On the contrary: We are against having people in the power structures who are political gossips or who have an unclear sexual orientation. If the prime minister is a homosexual, his lover will not govern in his place. This is something that is unacceptable in politics. Sociological research clearly shows this to be the case. For example, in response to the question: "Do you approve of relationships between people of the same sex," across the country, 46 percent of those surveyed answered that it is repugnant, and they even consider that these relations should be prohibited by law. In the Blagoevgrad electoral district, 68 percent of the population is against against homosexuality. If I may use such a figure of speech: This is the most masculine region in the country.

[Tokin] The DAR is the only political force that envisions regional programs. What is the regional program for your electoral district?

[Michkovski] We are in favor of the development of customs-free zones; in the first place, in Petrich. We are categorically opposed to the implementation of the Rila project. There are only bureaucratic and personal interests behind it. It will not lead to an improvement in Sofia's water supply system. Likewise, we support the desire of people not to have their area become a desert. We are the only political force which has a concrete and detailed tobacco program to bring this sector out of its deep crisis.

[Tokin] Your electoral slogan is "Will DAR be in the parliament, or the yes-men?"

[Michkovski] We do not doubt that the DAR will be the third political force in the country and that it will be the true Bulgarian balancer between the two poles. One way or another, without us neither the one nor the other will be able to form a government. We have the unique opportunity, even as the third force, to impose our views precisely in the government.

[Tokin] On what part of the electorate do you rely?

[Michkovski] On state employees, intellectuals, new businessmen, on people disappointed by the BSP, and intelligent SDS members who have become disillusioned. Taken together, this is a sufficient electoral group for us, a group exceeding 300-350,000 people. We depend on them. Of course, DAR's program is very attractive to all reasonable, thoughtful Bulgarians who love their country. Because the defense of the national economy is, in essense, at the heart of the defense of Bulgaria's national security.

## Washington Seen as 'Evading' Responsibilities

*AU1912090394 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 15 Dec 94 p 6*

[Comentary by Plamen Kulinski: "Collective Responsibility"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington warned that it would be a horrible mistake to withdraw the Blue Helmets from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The same applies to unilaterally lifting the arms embargo.

Those new factors evoke the thought that Washington is perhaps evading its declared readiness to join the operations related to the possible withdrawal of the Blue Helmets, because then the U.S. boys would be exposed to the same risk to which they would have been exposed if they had taken part in the peace operations in Bosnia.

One is rather puzzled by the change in the U.S. position on anything related to the Bosnian Muslims' arms embargo. After Washington said "A" by unilaterally deciding to cease its participation in effecting control over the observance of the arms embargo in the Mediterranean, one expected it to also say "B" by forgetting that the UN arms embargo exists. However, such a step would have presupposed assuming the responsibility for the consequences, because then Washington would have had to directly engage itself in the Bosnian conflict. Consequently, this would have necessitated the dispatch of ground troops at a later stage.

In the future Washington will rely on multilaterally lifting the embargo. After all, it is easier to assume a

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collective responsibility. However, it appears that Washington will not have to assume even this kind of responsibility, because lately, the Russian "nyet" can be heard again at the UN Security Council.

### Commentary Examines Integration Possibilities

*AU1612172794 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 13 Dec 94 p 7*

[Commentary by Georgi Apostolov: "Kiev, Chisinau, Essen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bulgaria's two highest-ranking political figures simultaneously found themselves in two opposite places: Prime Minister Reneta Indzhova in the West; President Zhelyu Zhelev in the East. Both came back with different luggage.

In the German city of Essen, Indzhova received pats on the back and vague promises concerning a whole East European package. Zhelev, on the other hand, Zhelev signed economic agreements in Kiev and Chisinau, conducted talks on power supply issues—vitally important for Bulgaria—and succeeded to a certain degree in, if not strengthening the positions of the Bulgarian minority there, at least demonstrating concern for its well-being. Dreaming about integration with West Europe over the past five years, Bulgaria continues to rely mainly on economic relations with the Eastern countries, which have been built over decades. Moreover, recently, the West clearly made us understand that no one there intends to seriously help us with our problems. It has been repeatedly said to us that the best way of to integrate into West Europe is to restore and activate close relations with East Europe.

What is left is to listen to this advice and build our relations with the new partners without forgetting our traditions, and not at the expense of those traditions.

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## Meciar on Formation of Government, Shadow Cabinet

*LD1612173594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Martin Bartisek on 16 December; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Bartisek] For a long time our public waited for the formation of a new government. However, the fact that the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has formed the so-called HZDS shadow cabinet as well is somehow surprising. Moreover, we have learned that the shadow cabinet is still looking for its prime minister. Let us put it briefly: What is it going to be like, when is it going to be formed, and what is the aim you are following when forming it?

[Meciar] Forming a shadow cabinet is a part of every party's normal political activities and all parties should have one. [words indistinct]

As regards forming a shadow cabinet, the paradox is that I will be heading both. [passage omitted]

The analyses we carried out while in the opposition lead us to recognize the need for changing the structure of our party apparatus from an insufficient one dealing merely with everyday matters into a functioning one. Bodies have to be formed to act as quasi partners of the ministries—but in the good sense of the word—to fulfill the initiative and advisory function, to prepare personnel, and at the same time to perform control functions. To a certain extent they supervise the actions of their representatives in those institutions. This is why these bodies will be formed and will be active. I consider this to be totally normal. [passage omitted]

[Bartisek] In this context yet another question emerges. To what extent will program statements of the two cabinets be similar, or different?

[Meciar] The people who will be acting in shadow and will not be acting very much in public, will be pursuing the HZDS program. This means that assessing what is possible and what is not possible, when assessing the developments, they will assess them from the point of view of implementing the HZDS program.

The government headed by me is to be operative and has to implement the program that is the summary and compromise of four coalition parties' programs—those of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], Farmers' Party of Slovakia, the Association of Workers of Slovakia, and the Slovak National Party. It has to strive for their support and for the implementation of everything these parties consider important for our society. This is why the program basis is slightly different and this is why it is necessary to show and respect their independence.

[Bartisek] Let us stay on the subject of the government. How is the handing over of individual posts on the appropriate levels going?

[Meciar] Overall, it is possible to say that the manner is more civilized than in 1992. [passage omitted]

It is a very fast, operative course of action. I think that in a short time everything will be fully functional. In a way, we have boarded a train, which continues traveling very fast.

[Bartisek] You speak about replacements—what levels will be affected by these changes?

[Meciar] According to the tradition we founded in 1992, we consider the posts of ministers, state secretaries, and the heads of offices to be political posts. A certain reorganization of the central bodies of state administration will take place, with the aim of forming the Ministry of Public Works, as this is one of the aims of our program. An institution will be formed to deal with the middle- and long-term prospects of Slovakia. We have to do something, either through an agency or something else, to improve Slovakia's name abroad. Other bodies of state administration will more or less stay as they are, without bigger changes.

As regards personnel issues, we are not interested in a political impact, we are interested in making institutions function properly. Wherever there was a lower level of efficiency in the last six months or before that, we will look for a better quality replacement. However, these will not be overall purges.

## Meciar on Ministry, Hungary, Czech Republic

*LD1612221294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Martin Bartisek; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Bartisek] You told Slovak Radio that the Foreign Ministry was the weakest element in the government because, to some aspect, it has not cooperated with the government as it should have. Can we assume that there will be changes taking place, that is, will this view of yours materialize in concrete measures and, perhaps, in staffing of the embassies?

[Meciar] I met leading Foreign Ministry officials. I explained to them my view and vision and they mostly nodded in agreement, although nobody was more explicit. By and large, our embassies are not complete. Our commercial representations are profoundly weak and insufficient for the needs of the country. Diplomatic representations are such that we do not have professional diplomats as yet. Therefore it would be best to gather a group of young people who would be trained, so that in two years time we would be able to present highly-qualified, professional diplomats.

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The Foreign Ministry itself went through a round of changes resulting from the terms in office but also because of some engagements going beyond the framework of diplomacy—if a diplomat or a ministry employee goes about saying to a foreign partner not to do certain things that are beneficial for the Slovak State, because the diplomat or employe does not like the government, then this kind of person naturally cannot be in office.

Also, if somebody does not know his east from west [words indistinct] and considers this to be a proof of Slovakia going east, then this kind of person cannot represent us abroad either. Every diplomatic service serves its country. If somebody has changed his position as a diplomat and servant to the state into a servant of his party's, he either has to improve his performance or he will have to vacate his place for those who want to serve their country. This is a great chance for young people, everybody who applies and proves himself will get his chance.

[Bartisek] Slovakia and its neighbors: That means the Czech Republic, with its distinct economic relations and Hungary, generally seen in light of minority issues—Prime Minister, can we assume that you want to talk to the representatives of these countries as soon as possible; have any concrete steps taken place?

[Meciar] We see a realistic possibility in the development of Czech and Slovak relations. After all, we are very close to one another. The aspects of cooperation, whether it involves commodities, political geography, or historical coexistence, are very important to us, and so is the human dimension. Nothing should get worse. We have the best of intentions for improvement.

I presume that in the very near future certain fundamental negotiations between Slovakia and Hungary on historical reconciliation will take place. It would be an ethical and political act but also a way of organizing our mutual relations in line with European integration. Tension harms both sides, a resolution is in the interest of both sides. Visits are being prepared, talks on various levels are being held, we have promising schedules on where and when we should meet and informal contacts have always existed. On several occasions Prime Minister Gyula Horn spoke positively about my outline of Slovak-Hungarian relations and we will build on these good bases. [passage omitted]

## New Defense Minister Outlines Priorities

*LD1612165294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] New Defense Minister Jan Sitek was present today in Trencin at a meeting appraising the performance of the Slovak Army General Staff. The minister was accompanied by Jozef Gajdos, newly appointed state secretary in the Defense Ministry, and Jan Repasky, new head of the Defense Ministry office. Our correspondent Peter Toman has more details.

[Begin recording] [Toman] I am aware that I was appointed to the post of minister at a time when the Army transformation process has just begun. I will therefore do all my best so this process develops for the benefit of the Slovak Republic and its Army. This is what the minister said at the beginning of his short speech. He said that in the near future he will focus on the extension of political-military activities related to our integration into European security structures while maintaining the sovereignty and national identity of the Slovak Republic. The minister intends to give special attention to the Partnership for Peace program and to Slovakia's dignified representation in UN peacekeeping forces, as well as to the development of our officers' abilities to work in international staffs.

The minister said that the other priorities of the ministry were the completion of the first stage of the Army's transformation, which should be carried out in such a way as not to endanger the Army's combat readiness. In the social sphere, the minister intends to speed up the adoption of relevant laws. He also wants to improve the patriotic education in the Army.

Since relations between the ministry and the general staff of the Army in Trencin have not been at their best recently, I was interested to know the new minister's view of future cooperation between these two bodies.

[Sitek] Well, the General Staff is basically the commanding section of the Army. I had to get to know the chief of the General Staff. Since today was the analysis day, I was invited to take part. After our short talk I believe that cooperation will be good. In fact, the views held by the chief of the General Staff are in accord with our election program and, naturally, with the programe that is going to be declared in the government manifesto.

[Toman] Lieutenant General Jozef Tuchyna, chief of the General Staff, reminded those present that the General Staff was there to fulfill the tasks given to it by the defense minister so that Slovakia's defense capacity remains continuous and will be carried out in cooperation with the Defense Ministry. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## Government Ministers Discuss Plans, Priorities

*LD1812161394 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1225 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[From the "Kroky" roundtable discussion program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified moderator] Good afternoon, esteemed viewers. Ten weeks after the early parliamentary elections, Slovakia has a new government. We shall discuss this government's priorities with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Deputy Prime Minister Katarina Tothova, Minister of Foreign Affairs Juraj Schenk, Minister of Defense Jan Sitek, Deputy

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Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Sergej Kozlik, Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kalman, Minister of Economy Jan Ducky, and Minister for Privatization Peter Bisak. Ladies and gentlemen, good day to you.

Prime minister, what will be the priorities of the new Slovak Government?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] The arrival of this government is connected with the strategic objective of turning Slovakia's development Towards economic prosperity. I assume that this can be achieved within four years, that Slovakia's development potential is so big that, providing it can work in peace for four years, Slovakia could be the most prosperous country of all the post-communist countries. I am not saying this just to advertise things, I am deeply convinced of this. [passage omitted]

We want to stabilize our political system without social earthquakes. This political system will, naturally, remain democratic but it must also be functional. [passage omitted]

The second priority lies precisely in the economic sphere, because Slovakia stands on the threshold of fundamental structural changes. The structural changes have already begun. We have already carried some of them out in foreign trade and in the production and service spheres. But that's not enough. The structural changes are mostly aimed at privatization, which will naturally be continued. And all the steps we are making now are aimed at tidying up this process and making it more transparent.

However, we are interested in speeding up privatization so that we can complete it as soon as possible. But privatization is only a part of this policy [words indistinct]

In the social relations area we will create a new system of social certainties and guarantees. [passage omitted]

Slovakia has not been and will not be living on an isolated island. All the above objectives can be attained only through intensive international cooperation with its immediate neighbors. We plan to discuss with the Czech government the conditions of the Customs Union. We are planning to discuss the so-called Grand Treaty [velka zmluva] with the Hungarian Government. We are planning talks with the Austrian, Polish, and Ukrainian Governments in order to improve neighborly relations.

Of course, Slovakia's strategic objective in aiming for the European Union cannot be questioned, while the efforts at integration cannot be questioned either. However, at the same time we have to take into consideration our economic relations with the east, which must be also developed, even for the sake of our $1 billion shortfall in the balance of payments on these markets. These are the strategic long-term objectives.

Regarding the short-term objectives, we have boarded a fast-moving train.

Before 1900 tomorrow, we will hand the provisional budget to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. We have completed this task in 48 hours. [passage omitted] By 12 January, we will hand the government policy statement to the National Council. [passage omitted]

There are doubts as to whether this is a good coalition or not. This coalition is a coalition on which parties were able to agree. All of them had a chance to join. The opportunities, conditions, and offers were extensive. So let this coalition work longer than just one hundred days. Slovakia cannot afford to change the blueprint of its policies. We are now initiating altogether new factors and I assume they will be accepted. But this cannot be done if the concept of the economic policy is changed two or three times a year as was the case in 1994.

For the festive season, all of us are wishing that calm, peace, and understanding will stay with us not only at the present time, but for the next four years.

[Moderator] Mrs Tothova, it is your turn now, please.

[Tothova] [passage omitted] As regards my activities in the government, the priority is legislature. [passage omitted]

I would, perhaps, add some thoughts on mass media policy which will be partly within my powers. Yesterday I had the honor to introduce the director general of the TA SR [Slovak Press Agency] to his office.

On that occasion I expressed my wish that this press agency should become a trustworthy institution enjoying a good name abroad, whose reports will be eagerly expected by new subscribers. It should not happen in future that this agency issues reports based on hearsay. [passage omitted] It will therefore be necessary to increase demands on its work as regards ethics, standards, and responsibility. This does not mean reducing or restricting options of this agency as regards its reporting—but these reports should be verified.

There is a similar situation in the mass media: More attention should be paid to the need to consider appropriate consequences if incorrect, misleading reports are published. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] [passage omitted] Minister Bisak, what will be the continuation of privatization in Slovakia?

[Bisak] Privatization will continue, of course. Let's recall the past few days. The few days I have had in the ministry so far and my brief experience show clearly that all the ministry's work was primarily focused on coupon privatization. Despite this, there were not enough projects on offer. Currently this shortfall amounts to about 50 billion crowns in approximately 190 companies. [paqssage omitted]

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This means that there are a number of unclear matters on the offer side of the privatization process. Because the coupon privatization has been delayed for a short time, it will be necessary to very quickly, together with other ministries, reassess matters and bring in new companies. To put it mildly, from the point of view of preparing these new projects for privatization, this will require a considerable effort.

The whole package of projects will have to be assessed on the basis of certain strategic objectives of privatization. There will be a need to create a new and strong stratum of indigenous entrepreneurs. From the point of view of making privatization socially acceptable, it will be very important to set up staff-owned joint stock companies [zamestnanecke akciove spolocnosti] Naturally, it will be necessary to create scope for foreign capital, without which we will notable to manage because of the high investment requirements of the whole transformation process.

There are thus more than enough problems in this sphere and it will be up to us to make speedy provisions so that the coupon privatization delay is not too long.

[Moderator] Deputy Prime Minister, if you please.

[Kozlik] [Passage omitted] The point is that the evaluation of the economic development of the privatized companies has been carried out. The most dynamic development has been in the companies where a direct, specific ownership has been ensured. These were in particular the companies privatized in the form of staff-owned joint stock companies, or where direct specific owners took over.

Providing we pursue our privatization philosophy—which means that we will be combining coupon privatization with specific ownership—we will arrive at the situation when people will hold better quality shares, whose value will be going up. And this is where the entire essence of the present solution lies. We want to fundamentally reassess the extent, or in other words, the package of the property going to coupon privatization so that the citizens know what their position is and so that the quality of the property is higher.

The next point is that privatization as a whole should not be aimed solely at changing ownership relations, but that it should make the economy more dynamic. This would be reflected in growth in employment and the production potential of this country.

[Moderator] Another problem is that doubts are being cast on Slovakia's foreign political orientation. Minister, are things valid until now still valid?

[Schenk] I would like to emphasize that this is one of the priorities of the program with which we will open our future activity. We have repeated this idea at various forums already and we want to confirm it again. To put it simply, under the current, rather complicated foreign political situation and in this geopolitical space,our orientation cannot be other than an unambiguous orientation toward integration into European and trans-Atlantic structures, (?further) gradual integration into NATO, and further activities in all forums such as the United Nations, the CSCE, and other institutions of which we are members already and in which we already carry out these kinds of activities.

I think that all this stems from one fact which is beyond any doubt, namely the fact that the Slovak Republic politically, historically but also culturally belongs in central Europe. This, however, is only one side of the issue.

Another problem is that this is not only a matter of our intention. The other thing is how sucessful we will be in turning this intention into reality. Naturally, this is not going to be simple. It will not be simple because, among other things, it will quite substantially depend on the attitude of our west European partners. And this attitude is changing right now. It can be expected that it will continue to change. Of course, I do not want to cast any doubts on this integration process. I only want to say that it is not going to be too easy and, apparently, it will not be a very short process either. [passage omitted]

Of course, this orientation toward Europe does not exclude very close cooperation with all other near neighbors. [passage omitted] Naturally, we do not want to underestimate the importance of our relations, especially economic relations, with our eastern neighbor, the Russian Federation.

[Moderator] What are the steps to be taken for our relations with European and world structures to become more intensive?

[Schenk] Well, the most pressing tasks have to be carried out first to achieve this. One of them is the task related to the Convention on the Rights of Ethnic Minorities which has been prepared and which sets conditions that make the convention acceptable to us. [passage omitted] This convention will help us to deal with all problems so that all civic rights are guaranteed in our country to all citizens of the Slovak Republic, be they Ruthenians, Germans, Ukrainians, Hungarians, but, on the other hand, so that there is no discrimination against Slovak citizens, that is the citizens of Slovak ethnic origin, either.

[Moderator] NATO is one of the most important structures mentioned here. Minister, what do you intend to do so that our integration into NATO is as soon as possible?

[Sitek] The prime minister and the former government already subscribed to the Partnership for Peace program. If I am correct, this happened at the beginning of the year. By doing so, they clearly declared their intention to join NATO. Today we confirm that this policy will continue. However, the process of joining NATO will be

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apparently conditioned by a referendum. This will not only be democratic but, in my opinion, also correct.

By joining the Partnership for Peace program we are given no security guarantees. These guarantees have not been mentioned in the adopted defense doctrine of the Slovak Republic either. Because of that, I consider it very important to preserve our sovereignty, national identity, and ability to defend the territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic even without these guarantees during the process of joining these security structures.

We are fully aware of the importance of Slovakia's geopolitical and geostrategic position as well as of the West's and the East's interest in this area. In my view, the implementation of an individual compatibility program within Partnership for Peace will be determined by the allocation of financial resources from the provisional budget.

I would also like to say that the Army transformation process will continue. I think that the first stage which was started, as I have mentioned already, by the former government of Prime Minister Meciar was correct and one clearly has to make an analysis and to continue in this direction. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Minister Ducky, what are the most important changes to be made by your ministry for the economy to develop in the way it should?

[Ducky] I have one great ambition—not to allow the situation from my previous time in office to be repeated. That is, the posts of state secretaries and the head of the ministry's office must be filled first of all. [passage omitted]

There are several priorities in our area. Since they form a broad scale it will be necessary to deal with some partial issues as well. However in my view trade, and especially foreign trade, is a real priority. This is obvious since the potential of Slovak industry is bigger than the potential of a small market. Hence, inevitably, there is the task to expand our search for new demand.

Privatization is another priority. Although there is a separate ministry responsible for it, we will help to speed up the privatization of companies whose form, content, and material aspects of privatization are clear. [passage omitted]

The third area which has to get more attention is investments. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Deputy Chairman, [words indistinct] what will be your first actions in your post?

[Kalman] The social sphere is very complex. The government's aims and priorities in the social sphere will be based on two fundamental conditions:

The first condition is the present poor social and economic situation of the population, which is, in many cases, even critical. The second condition is the fact that all the election policies of the government coalition parties were in essence based on their desire to improve the social situation.

In dealing with this sphere and in solving these problems I will have very important help from the tripartite body which was developed in our country and which has reached a (?reasonable) standard. It will be precisely the Council of Economic and Social Accord and the partnership relationship between employers, government, and trade unions which I will regard as a decisive factor in tackling these social issues.

I asked for the tripartite presidium to be convened next Thursday. You know very well that the tripartite body was suspended and that the employers walked out from the last tripartite meeting.

We will be examining—as we have already done during preliminary consultations with the prime minister and Deputy Prime Minister Kozlik—whether the situation can be resolved and whether there is a chance that the tripartite body could start working once again. In this respect, what we mainly want to do during the tripartite meeting is to take the stock of the current situation in the social sphere. [passage omitted]

On the basis of our findings, after the trade union representatives and employers have submitted their demands and after election policies have been harmonized, at the Council of Economic and Social Accord we will draw up the whole blueprint for the social sphere which has so far been lacking. All this should be basically aimed at drafting the 1995 General Agreement. I think that these are the basic priorities of my sphere.

[Moderator] Everything has been revolving around money. The law on the state budget has always been the top priority. Prime Minister, why do we have the provisional budget and how will the state budget for the next year look like?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] The need for the provisional budget has been prompted by a certain political situation. The previous government was unwilling to pass the budget to the parliament and we, on the other hand, were not willing to adopt their development concept, because it in effect missed the most important factor, which was development. [passage omitted]

A different economic policy must be pursued if we are to make a switch to development. In order to bridge, as it were, the time gap, we had to adopt certain rules—and these will be finalized on Monday, because there are very few disputes between ministers on this issue—which will help bridge this time gap until the state budget is adopted.

Our present line of thinking is that the state budget will come first. It will be followed by the National property fund budget and by the budgets of the national insurance companies and other budgets, including that of the National Bank. This (?will become) the budgetary rules

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system, which will provide a comprehensive outline of the Slovak economy in 1995.

There are some other important factors, though. Some matters were incorporated into the draft. For example, the National Property Fund should give 18 billion crowns, while according to data we heard last night, its own deficit is 7.1 billion. This means that it would have to produce 25 billion in a year, i.e. that it would have to pass 25 billion worth of property to use. This money would in effect be (?wasted) and would not be channelled toward economic development. Things cannot go on like this any more. That's why we are considering that some changes will have to be made. These are the changes:

We assume that the regulations will be aimed at reviving the growth of the economy and the gross domestic product. We are currently discussing whether next year's growth should be 3 or 4 percent. Mr. Kozlik will further specify this.

The ways in which we should achieve this are: giving priority to investments, foreign trade and agriculture. Other priorities will be added later, of course.

Furthermore, we are thinking of terminating the policy of currency restrictions and switching to a development policy. This is a very important change because it presupposes sufficient resources. [passage omitted]

The budget will make only a partial contribution to all these steps and to this turnaround, which must come about in society so that (?we could actually make headway). That's why the budget drafting and the considerations accompanying this process must be totally different. [passage omitted]

The solution cannot be stagnation. We must proceed further. The development must continue by creating surpluses, because by creating resources we shall be able to meet people's needs better. [passage omitted]

We will have to start acting as one economically intertwined unit which, by making its own development more dynamic, will be able to gain an enormous advantage even in relation to its neighbors and the future market.

The proposed budget failed to create scope for this. The provisional budget is only temporary. According to our decision, by the end of January or in a month's time, a final draft of the budget should be submitted to the government. The National Council could discuss it in February.

Yesterday afternoon and last night we met all the chairmen of the National Council committees. We discussed their comments on individual chapters and we think that the budget will go through the National Council.

Although the provisional budget should not be in force for a long time, there will be certain rules for its (?application). [passage omitted]

Our perception of the government is not that we are here to take power and that we are all happy because we are sitting in our old chairs. Sitting in old chairs is not comfortable. We see this as a service to the public when we want to produce something and to deliver it. That cannot be done without popular support. [passage omitted]

There are many things that still lie ahead. But we find ourselves on a different level now. We are no longer thinking along the lines: Good God, do not let things get worse. We are set to think that things will get better. While I am saying that we do not see the government only as a complex of instruments with which to pursue power, one thing should be pointed out. From the point of view of enhancing the internal discipline of the state administration and the work of the state, each civic discipline is seen as a part of democracy, as a natural sister of democracy. That's how I myself have termed this.

That's why the measures designed to toughen some of the rules of our domestic life will not run counter to democracy. But democracy or the concept of democracy will not serve to conceal anarchism or pseudo-democracy.

When we were explaining these matters and my own ideas at the Interior Ministry and when I pointed out some of the steps in the last six months, most of the chiefs immediately stepped down from their posts. That's no pity. Others, who will pledge to serve well and who will work in a different way, will come forward. This is yet another direction where the government policy will have to follow a different objective. Real work will have to start everywhere. [passage omitted]

The provisional budget and other provisional measures are the tools to put this into effect. As long ago as when we were in opposition, Mr. Kozlik devised another economic policy structure, according to which a part of this policy will be financed from the state budget and a part from other resources. The revival will be financed from other resources, outside the state budget.

That's why we are placing strong emphasis on international cooperation. The claims that we are in isolation are untrue. We have had very big offers of resources from outside and on occasions we discussed truly enormous sums of money. But the point is all of this must be advantageous not only for those who are abroad but also for us. It cannot be advantageous for one side only.

These then were the actions or considerations that prompted us to change, right from the first day we took the office, the flow of money so that it would flow toward a certain specific purpose. [passage omitted]

[Kozlik] In substance, Slovakia's debt amounts to approximately 113 billion Slovak crowns. This is our burden. Of this, about 70 billion is an internal debt. We have to cope with this within a certain time limit; and

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there is a risk that the debt could continue to grow further. So the fundamental strategy of our overall budgetary approach is that we should not increase this debt. [passage omitted]

We are speaking about an offensive drive toward revitalizing the production potential of this country. [passage omitted]

Another aspect is that we need—given this big production potential which exceeds the needs of our country, as Minister Ducky has already mentioned—to activate measures to boost exports. [passage omitted]

Privatization has already been mentioned as a clear, powerful measure with which we have to continue, including the link with coupon privatization.

The other issue is the revitalization of agriculture, as well as the selective protection of our market, as a part of the entire package of measures to boost exports and selective protection of our market [as heard].

Speaking about the investment sphere, it is closely linked to the financial sphere. We have to ensure cheap investment money for our economy. [passage omitted]

In the next few weeks we will be in close contact with the National Bank of Slovakia. I think that we will be capable of finding the way to solve these things.

What I have just said is reflected in the provisional budget. The provisional budget totally separates tackling the state debt—or perhaps I should put it more precisely as debt servicing—from the National Property Fund's assets. [passage omitted]

We are switching to substantially stricter regulations as regards state administration. Every ministry must think twice before spending a single crown. [passage omitted]

In the first three months we expect a 4-percent increase of revenue but in the context of a big budget this is not enough. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] There are many groups of issues, but speaking about trade between countries I am sure that our biggest partner is the Czech Republic. What is the future of these relations, as regards the Customs Union, customs certificates, etc?

[Meciar] The Customs Union is, of course, advantageous for both of us. This is why we are in favor of preserving it. As regards the discussion about what form the payments system should have, jointly with Czech Prime Minister Klaus we have introduced a certain system which has fulfilled its purpose. It is now possible to consider another one—but to achieve that we need to discuss it between us.

The Czech Republic continues to be our important trade partner—and prospects for our joint course of action on third markets seem to be good. If we reach an agreement in this field, the result could be very positive.

There is interest from our side in speeding up talks with our Czech partner about cooperation—both through the Council of the Customs Union and through bilateral contacts of ministers. We envisage that in the near future we will make an effort to intensify the relations with our partners in Prague, and also to achieve some important agreements.

As regards the Czech Republic, there are bilateral relations between the two of us but there are also our joint relations with other partners in central Europe. An agreement has been concluded which envisages the forming of a customs-free zone in central Europe. This is a considerable opportunity for us. We have joined GATT agreements. This means that our macroframework is also changing in the sphere of external trade relations.

However, we have to change the conditions in which we have found ourselves abroad as well. First, we should not fail to do something about the small number of our trade missions abroad, the lack of those capable of proper entreperneurial activities, the failure of many companies to familiarize themselves with trade relations abroad and gain resources and loans—which could be much easier to get abroad than at home as the case of the Slovnaft refinery shows, and also getting more favorable interest rates, the failure to enter markets in other states and expand there. All this has to change. [passage omitted]

The assumption of a number of western European countries that they will be able to hold talks in 1996 about a possible speedier integration represents, in a way, both a challenge and a problem for us. However, one needs to prepare oneself very well for such integration as it is not a question of political will but of the ability of a weaker economy to cohabit with a stronger economy and stand the ground in such a competition.

As Deputy Prime Minister Tothova has said about the tasks we are facing in the sphere of legislature, we will literally need to re-write the entire legislative system of the Slovak Republic in order to harmonize it with European states' legal systems. [passage omitted]

As you know me as a believer, I believe—I do strongly believe—that all this is possible, that Slovakia will achieve all this and it can really go through a rapid process of becoming dynamic. We need to begin to tackle one more aspect, besides those four external economic aspects: I mean self-confidence, strengthening our self-confidence, tackling the issue of life values, moral values.

Our national and democratic development has culminated in the formation of our state in the name of life values. Institutions should strive to contribute to this as well. In our election program we subscribed to Christian values and we are returning to them with the intention of implementing them reasonably in order to let people fulfill themselves in this sphere as well. [passage omitted]

We are facing many tasks. However, we are embarking on this with enthusiasm, confidence, and conviction that we will succeed. [passage omitted]

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It is not enough that you gave us your vote of confidence in the elections, we will need your support, confidence, trust, and calm almost every day in order to be capable of doing our work efficiently.

[Moderator] Deputy Prime Minister, we have talked about legislative measures related to the European Union. Will we make it on time?

[Tothova] We must. [passage omitted] There is no other way. In my opinion, adaptation must be achieved in basic matters. On the other hand, we should not imagine that it is not possible to adopt legal measures or rules of behavior that have no corresponding measure in European Union [EU] law.

Why is this the case? We are undergoing transformation. Within that we will have to deal with issues which, for example, the countries of West Europe did not have to deal with. Therefore, we will not find corresponding legal rules in their law. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] Foreign minister, as the head of Slovak diplomacy, how do you intend to match and coordinate all these relations between the EU and Slovakia?

[Schenk] Obviously, this is not going to be simple as this is, so to speak, a battle fought simultaneously on several fronts. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] We have talked about the economy. Prime Minister, could you conclude this by telling us how the Slovak Government intends to contribute to calming and stabilizing the internal political situation in Slovakia?

[Meciar] Naturally, this does not depend on the government alone. All political entities are going to play a decisive role in this process. Every party that took part in the elections and is in parliament now is trying to find its position and scope for cooperation, doing so voluntarily. The question is, to what extent are these parties willing to accept the election results and their own voluntarily chosen position. If the situation of 1992 and 1994 is repeated and politicians go abroad and defame their own country and events in it, if they continue to foul their own nest, they will not be acting correctly. [passage omitted] We will support the earliest possible adoption of the bill on conflicts of interest. We expect that the [parliamentary] election procedures will be re-assessed. We also envisage that the activity of political parties will be assessed, specifically with regard to their financing as this is part of competition. We hope to resume soon our work on the development of the structure of the state administration. We expect that it will make clear why the events of March 1994 happened, and what was behind it, so that these things are not repeated. [passage omitted]

The government, as a component part of constitutional bodies, will strive to ensure the continuation of cooperation, agreement, and understanding. It will accept criticism and arguments. We will invite representatives of other parties holding different political views for cooperation, provided that they wish to do so. If not, we will respect their opinion as well. However, we will not stop life because of that. Life will go on. We see the main guarantee of stabilization in the fact that it was the citizens' will which put us in government. It is therefore the citizens whom we want to lean on and whom we want to serve. It is first of all to them that we will report on our activity. There is no other way for us.

[Moderator] Ladies and gentlemen, our time has run out. Thank you very much for your participation in our dicusssion.

## New Deputies Take Up Ministers' Seats

*AU1612200394 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Dec 94 pp 1, 2*

[Report by correspondent Milan Stanislav: "Vladimir Meciar Introduced His Cabinet"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—The third meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] continued yesterday with the festive introduction of members of the new government. [passage omitted]

In a brief address while introducing government members, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar offered a symbolic hand of reconciliation and cooperation to the president and all parliamentary parties. [passage omitted] The new government members were then replaced in the parliamentary benches by substitutes. Substitutes for government members representing the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]-Farmers Party of Slovakia [RSS] coalition are Jozef Stranak, Frantisek Svec, Eva Garajova, Pavel Halabrin, Vladimir Homola, Marian Vanko, Martin Oravec, and Pavol Derfenyi and substitute for the Slovak National Party [SNS] is Jaroslav Paska. However, parliament continued with only 149 members because the Mandate and Immunity Committee did not have the necessary documents to verify the mandate of Ivan Luptak (HZDS), who is Environment Minister Jozef Zlocha's substitute.

The further course of the meeting put the sincerity of Vladimir Meciar's words about the hand of reconciliation to a test. During the election of the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Supreme Inspection Office [NKU], the government coalition continued to proceed in the spirit of the personality principle [osobnostny princip] of filling parliamentary posts. Parliament elected Stefan Balejik, candidate for the Association of Workers of Slovakia, NKU chairman, and Michal Fidlus (SNS) and Juraj Slovinsky (HZDS) NKU deputy chairmen. [passage omitted] The parliament meeting continues today.

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## Politicians Discuss Minority Policy in Romania

*LD1812235494 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[Studio discussion with the participation of Csaba Tabajdi, political state secretary at the Prime Minister's office in charge of minority affairs; Miklos Csapody, parliamentary deputy of the Hungary Democratic Form, MDF; and Zsolt Nemeth, parliamentary deputy from the Federation of Young Democrats, FIDESZ, introduced by announcer Andras Totfalusi; from the "Weekly Courier" program—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Totfalusi] [Passage omitted] Mr. Tabajdi, what was the most important conclusion, result of your recent visit to Bucharest and Timisoara.

[Tabajdi] I am trying not to overestimate the event, but I think, that the fact in itself, that at the invitation of the Romanian Government and the HDUR [Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania], a Hungarian Government official in charge of minority affairs, and the head of the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders had an opportunity to hold talks has to be considered as a signal. [passage omitted] I think that these talks might be considered as the beginning of a long process. [passage omitted] What I consider important by all means is that we have managed to raise all the issues of the Hungarian community of Transylvania, Romania, without provoking a kind of row.

However, I have to add immediately that our positions are invariably far from each other. What I consider important is that, perhaps, there is a certain progress in the question of involving representatives of the HDUR and the Romanians of Hungary—although not in the matter of the Basic Treaty, but—in intergovernmental talks. I also consider it to be important that Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu did not rule out the possibility of the conclusion of a minority protection agreement, and the setting up of a kind of Hungarian-Romanian minority mixed committee.

That is to say, during the talks we did not deal primarily with the Basic Treaty, but concrete questions, which cause very significant problems for the Hungarian community of Romania, such as the education bill, for example. I also raised problems related to the minority bill—and all the other matters that have been laid down by the Council of Europe for the admission of Romania—the return of church properties, the release of Pal Csheresznyes, discrimination in privatization, the matter of the Cluj-Napoca Bolyai University. [passage omitted]

[Totfalusi] Do you not consider Laszlo Tokes' activities far too radical? What is really useful...

[Tabajdi, interrupting] The question, whether he is too radical or not, should not be raised in this way, for this always depends on the situation. For me, the question is to what extent the terminology with which the majority of Hungarians beyond the borders operate acceptable for the West that sympathizes with us—and now I am not talking about those who do not have sympathy with the Hungarian matter in the first place.

After all, the way the Hungarians formulate their aims has to serve two aims: On the one hand, whether some kind of communication or dialogue can be established with the majority nation and its political elite of the given country—this point is relevant even if this political will is, unfortunately, missing in some countries—the other question is to what extent we can win supporters for the cause of Hungarians beyond the borders in West Europe and in the world. For, the extent of international support for these issues is not irrelevant at all. I think that the statements and behavior of a politician should be judged exclusively from this viewpoint of effectiveness. Of course, there is a third aim, namely the mobilizing power for the given minority community. [passage omitted]

[Totfalusi] Our colleagues were trying to find out in Transylvania what the HDUR was expecting from the new government, and to what extent their leaders' thoughts were in line with Laszlo Tokes's thoughts.

[Begin Csaba Takacs recording, HDUR executive chairman identified by caption] I am ready to welcome the new government's intention to improve relations between the Hungarian Republic and Romania, and other successor states [as heard]. In the course of this, however, serious mistakes can be made, for behind the smile-policy there is an anti-minority policy in Romania. [passage indistinct] At the same time, we can say that in this period, in a strange way—and perhaps I should put it in inverted commas—the Hungarians' situation in Romania has markedly become worse. There is a significant contradiction between statements and practice. This can even be dangerous. [passage omitted]

At the same time, I also consider it important that opposition parties should have a role in determining the direction of the Hungarian foreign policy in this respect. I am of the view that it has become a political issue within the parties. There are differences of views within the two government parties regarding the government policy on Hungarians beyond the borders. We are of the view that a qualitative change has to take place here. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] [passage omitted] I agree with the opposition criticism that there is a lot to do in the field of coordination. However, I do not agree with the assumption that there is a major difference between the views of the government coalition parties. There are differences of views, but not necessarily between the two coalition parties. However, there are differences between various trends and approaches within the parties. [passage omitted]

I would also like to add that I would not describe the aims of the present government in relation with

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Romania, Slovakia, and other neighbors to be a friendship policy, but a policy of dialogue and talks.

I would like to reassure Csaba Takacs—and through him the Hungarian community of Transylvania and all the Hungarians beyond the borders—that talks do not mean a kind of self-surrender. The Hungarian Government's agreement with a neighboring country on vital questions over the head of the Hungarians beyond the borders is out of the question. I consider this to be a very important issue. [passage omitted] I think that we will be able eliminate the worries of the Hungarians beyond the borders, if we continue cooperation with the governments of the neighboring countries and Hungarian organizations beyond the borders simultaneously. And cooperation with the opposition also has the same significance. [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] [passage omitted] We have always said what matters is not the speed, but the quality of the Basic Treaty. It would be beneficial if we could conclude a good-quality basic treaty within a relatively short period. But if we cannot conclude a Basic Treaty of appropriate quality, we will not do that for the sake of having it.

[Csapody] The latter sentence has reassured me. [passage omitted]

[Nemeth] [passage omitted] I cannot lay back in the matter of the Basic Treaty yet. The foreign political administration is still on a marshland. I hope that it will move to a more stable ground as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

[Tabajdi] I think that a process has started that, in cooperation with Hungarian organizations beyond the border, we try to prepare a program, a plan on how to assist the embourgeoisement, enterprise, and welfare-creation of Hungarians beyond the borders. [passage omitted] We have established a separate department within the Office for Hungarians Beyond the Borders for the solution of this problem, and we have set up a working committee and now we are expecting ideas from the Hungarians beyond the border. [passage omitted]

## Prime Minister Comments on '13th Month Wage'

*LD1712222194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1505 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[Studio interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified correspondent; date not given; from the "16 Hours" program—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unidentified correspondent] Our studio guest is Prime Minister Gyula Horn. Thank you for accepting the invitation of "16 Hours". I would like your reaction to some topical issues. The first issue is the so-called 13th-month wage. Many people say that it is against the law because it can be paid in January according to the law on public employees.

[Horn] There has been a debate on it. [passage omitted] It is not illegal to pay it [before January], because the law on the supplementary budget says that it must be paid by 15 January, but it does not prohibit an earlier payment. That is why I asked the government for an examination of the possibilities for paying it, at least half of it, in December. What is more, on Friday evening I received the Finance Ministry's proposal on how much can be paid to policemen, firemen, and other employees.

[Correspondent] How much?

[Horn] I think this sum would be at least two-weeks—that is half a month—wages, and the other half would be paid in January. I believe that the prime minister must act when the ministries seem to have already exhausted the possibilities or cannot deal with the matter.

[Correspondent] This partial solution does not really concern many public employees. Who exactly will be affected by this partial solution?

[Horn] That is exactly what we are going to review at tomorrow's government session on Sunday [18 December]. The ministries will bring their proposals. We will help by all means. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Everyone fears that a large number of public employees will be dismissed next year; certain calculations suggest that some 200,000 public employees are expected to be laid off next year, some say that there will be a black March.

[Horn] It is out of the question. I do not know where they get these rumors from. The government decided that on the basis of domestic and international demands—by international I mean the international financial institutes we have been in contact with—we should at last begin reforming the sphere of public administration and public employees. It does not mean the dismissal of tens or hundreds of thousands of people, but that the reforms must start within a sensible limit. That is why the government decided, summing up the lists of the individual ministries, to cut the number of employees working in the ministries and related institutions by approximately 3,000 in 1994-95.

[Correspondent] What do you think of the statement by Gabor Kuncze in NEPSZABADSAG regarding the 13th-month wage, saying that one should govern relying on the ministers because that is the only way for the government to make uniform decisions. In this statement, Kuncze considers your decision concerning the 13th month's pay to be unfounded and he also says that it is unfortunate that the ministers should learn about it from the press.

[Horn] I very much regret that SZDSZ representatives keep sending messages through the press. This happened in the issue of the Youth Council and in other matters. The practice between coalitions in Europe is discussion between the sides and agreement on what should be

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made public. This is one thing I wish to note. The other thing is that if the interior minister or another minister says that, for instance, it is not possible to deal with the matter of the 13th-month wage, and I judge, through consultations with experts, that the possibility can be found, then I, as prime minister, am not only entitled but also obliged to act. I did not instruct the ministers, I just called it to their attention and asked for the finance minister's help. It is a significant difference.

[Correspondent] Why do you think your coalition deputy prime minister keeps sending messages through the press?

[Horn] I can only guess. It is probably an issue of prestige. I have not had any serious debates with Gabor Kuncze, presumably he treated the matter as an issue of prestige. I regret this. Otherwise our relationship, our cooperation is as is should be. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] A strike is always a demonstration directed toward the government. However, a government loses credit if it gives in and a strike cannot be successful if it has budgetary consequences, as well.

[Horn] I would say that we have no more room for retreat. We simply cannot give further concessions. However, on each issue concrete positions will be taken and a solution is being sought. [passage omitted]

It has to be admitted that there is no good solution, only the lesser of two evils. Plenty of things happened in the course of the past years, but there was not real progress in the direction of settling these major crisis areas.

[Correspondent] What kind of solution can be reached when, as you put it, there is no room for retreat, there are simply no reserves? [passage omitted]

[Horn] [passage omitted] We have exhausted any further possibilities, there are none. That is how we have to reach agreement. I am deeply convinced that we have to survive the year 1995. The government is not doing it for fun. If we cannot stabilize our financial situation then in the following years, the country's stability, too, will be endangered.

[Correspondent] How can the year 1995 be survived without reaching a socioeconomic pact? Can this be achieved for just 1995—which has to be survived—and then for beyond this?

[Horn] Look, the socioeconomic pact is extraordinarily important. However, I do not think that it is of vital importance. We would very much like to conclude it, and positions have become closer, what is more, there is agreement, on several issues. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] Nagy Sandor, the chairman of the MSZOSZ [National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions], and HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] deputy, says in today's MAGYAR HIRLAP that the SZDSZ is trying to get the kind of upper hand in the coalition that would not be justified by their election results. What do you think of this? This is a criticism, is it not?

[Horn] Yes, and it can be presumed to have a basis—Nagy presumably bases this remark on facts. Let me mention something here, certain SZDSZ leaders have had some very—if I may put it like this—sharp outbursts against Nagy, while he, as the MSZOSZ chairman, played a very important part in the agreement that came about at the interest coordination council.

Yes, we think that sometimes it seems as if power relations in the parliament between the coalition partners have been reversed. Sometimes our coalition partner comes up with a request or a demand that we would not come up with. If there are difficulties or requests in the coalition, we would like them to be discussed, debated—as would be usual in normal circumstances and in a normal government—and we would like it if arguments were not carried out in public, as happens here now.

[Correspondent] If I remember correctly, at the time of the coalition talks the HSP said several times it would try to hold back, meaning that it did not envisage a coalition such as the general elections might have indicated, but intended to give greater scope than this to its coalition partner. [passage omitted]

[Horn] [passage omitted] What I consider very important is that ultimately, the left-wing, that is, the Hungarian Socialist Party, should not be forced into the shadows, either in the coalition or in the parliament.

[Correspondent] Why do you think it should? You have an enormous majority.

[Horn] Yes, but we have almost never used the force of this majority. In voting, we have almost without exception endeavored for agreement and accords. [passage omitted]

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### Pawlak, IMF's Camdessus Discuss Policy

*LD1712154294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1437 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 17 Dec—After a meeting with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus told correspondents today that the draft budget, prepared by the Polish Government, is in accordance with the "Strategy for Poland," which enjoys the full support of the IMF.

After the meeting with Pawlak, which opened a three-day visit to Poland by the IMF head, Camdessus expressed the conviction that the steps provided by the budget, which aim to reduce inflation and achieve social and economic stabilization, will be implemented.

The IMF head stressed that, in spite of a drop in unemployment and good results in export and investments, the high rate of inflation is a serious illness within the Polish economy.

According to Camdessus, if inflation is not reduced, positive trends in the Polish economy could be wasted. He stressed that the Polish parliament must note that state budgetary and fiscal policy should continue among the reforms aimed at improving economic efficiency.

Camdessus stressed that if the state wants to secure better living conditions for its citizens, there is very little room for maneuver in shaping the budget.

Pawlak said that the adoption of the budget this year will give Poles the certainty about next year's economic solutions, which is important from the viewpoint of public optimism. "However, this optimism should not conceal the problems which will require a consistent effort," the prime minister said.

### Col Ryszard Kuklinski on Defense, Russia

*WS1512123094 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 15 Dec 94 p 3*

[Interview with Colonel Ryszard Kuklinski, by Elzbieta Isakiewicz; in Chicago on 13 November: "Latest Interview With Colonel Kuklinski Exclusively for GAZETA POLSKA"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Isakiewicz] By issuing the Yeltsin decree Russia has recently reminded Poland that it is dangerous; it also reminded the world that our country is to remain in its own sphere of influence. Even in independence-oriented circles one can hear opinions that we should not give much publicity to this issue so as not to give America the impression that Poland is in a conflict with Russia, because such a view would weaken our chances for entering NATO. What is your opinion about this?

[Kuklinski] I share this view. It would be a mistake to speak of Russia as our possible enemy or a threat to the independence of Poland; not only would it be a mistake from the point of view of our strategic goal, which is integration with the Western security structures, but it would also probably be unrealistic. I think that both in the immediate and the more remote future Poland's security will depend mainly, or at least largely, on events across our eastern and northeastern borders. It will depend on whether democratic systems will be consolidated there, which will be the greatest guarantee of peace in Europe, otherwise dictatorship, the totalitarian system, and imperial aspirations will return. This possibility still cannot be ruled out.

[Isakiewicz] Does this mean that we should remain silent when a neighboring country is threatening us?

[Kuklinski] Not necessarily. However, I would find it difficult to agree with the opinions that these threats are real, or at least possible. I believe that what must cause justified concern about Poland's security is the instability of the new states that were established on the debris of the Soviet empire, as well as the instability in their mutual political and military relations. Any crisis in this part of the world would be dangerous to Poland as much as it would be to NATO states. This should be understood both by NATO and by Poland's eastern neighbors.

[Isakiewicz] What do you think we should we do then not to feel so terribly defenseless?

[Kuklinski] Well, I do not think that the situation is that bad. First and foremost, both in our country and abroad there should not be even the slightest doubt that Poland is an integral part of Europe and the world. These are not empty words. I think that the feeling that Poland would be left alone in defense is only what seems to be true. Nervousness may be observed mainly among those who deceived themselves and felt safest under the protection of the military power of the Soviet Union. However, when we were no longer under this protection, Poland became a safer state—mainly because we finally removed the real threat of a nuclear holocaust hanging over the nation. It is of great importance for Poland to join the Western security structures; however, one must realize that no military alliances can replace one's own defense determination—a fact proved by history. As far as the first issue is concerned, after a period in which our country did not have a real defense strategy, Poland's intentions are now quite clear regarding the Western alliance. However, as for the second issue, (I would like to be wrong here) there certainly must be more questions than rational answers.

[Isakiewicz] Those in power claim that Poland does not have enough money to increase the defense budget. Do you think that lack of money can be of paramount importance to our security?

[Kuklinski] What is important here are not expenditures on defense, but the ability to take advantage of the entire potential of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic which they have at their disposal. I think that what your

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daily suggested in the article entitled "Army in a Trap" is only the tip of the iceberg, which is quite large. I believe that in a situation in which Poland supports the policy of "shortening the distances equally" ["rowne zblizenia"] it would be a mistake to aim our gun barrels toward the east; however, it would be an even greater mistake to create defense vacuum areas, which are in obvious conflict with the policy that is declared.

[Isakiewicz] As it seems, our eastern border is not at all protected. However, let us imagine now that Poland is dispatching its troops there. Would the East and the West not start hollering that our behavior is provocative?

[Kuklinski] I do not think that some major dislocations of troops to the east are needed to balance the country's defense. There are many wise people in the country who know very well what was neglected, and what should be done to repair it before it is too late. However, they must receive appropriate orders. Meanwhile, instead of that, what can be seen is nothing but struggles.

[Isakiewicz] There was a time when opinions were expressed in Poland about the positive role that could be played in our security by small military alliances, such as the Visegrad Group. Do you agree with this?

[Kuklinski] I only agree with those who believe that we lost a lot of time thinking about whether or not to let the Red Army go, because it might come in handy, as well as inventing Visegrad groups or eastern NATO's.

[Isakiewicz] Do you think that we have already lost our "five-minutes" in history, and all we can do is wait for Moscow to give us one prod after another?

[Kuklinski] One can only speak about overlooking those five minutes. This was done not by Poland, but by the "statesmen of the Third Republic of Poland." Of course, the situation today is different, but the road to NATO is open and certainly not very long. Poland made a great contribution to ending the Cold War, which resulted in a new, favorable situation for Europe and the world. Therefore, it had and still has the right to demand a guarantee for a safe future in this new situation. However, there must be no more talk that we lost the Cold War and no more acting like a petitioner.

## Higher Inflation, Slower Growth Forecast

*95EP0019A Warsaw GAZETA BANKOWA in Polish No 45, 5 Nov 94 p 25*

[Article by Slawomir Lipinski: "Darker Colors; the Market Economy Research Institute Does Not See National Sources for Growth"]

[Text] In its assessment of the first three quarters of this year the Central Planning Office tends to focus rather on successes, while the Market Economy Research Institute (IBnGR) perceives quite a few disturbing trends.

The IBnGR forecasts an increase of slightly more than 4 percent in the GDP this year, that is, a lower increase than that forecast by the government. But while such an indicator was admirable last year, now there is no reason to be proud of it, because quite a few other countries (including those in our region of Europe) will match it.

### Reliance on Exports Debatable

What is worse, a year ago we owed economic growth to domestic sources, whereas now, according to the IBnGR, there are no domestic engines of growth. At present we rely for growth chiefly on industrial exports, unfortunately worsening, of raw materials and relatively unprocessed goods from still rather inefficient large enterprises. On emerging from its recession the West has been increasing imports of these commodities, but up to a limit. World trade forecasts indicate that, starting in the middle of the next year, we will find it increasingly difficult to sell on foreign markets; this threatens drying up a currently basic engine of growth.

For the entire current year the IBnGR expects a 12.9-percent increase in exports and a 7.7-percent increase in imports, and for the next year, corresponding increases of 8.0 and 6.0 percent, respectively.

### Disturbing Disproportions

The growth of industry and services is being accompanied by stagnation, or even regression, in the other branches—agriculture, construction (this year the volume of housing released for occupancy may reach its nadir for the postwar period), domestic trade, and transportation. These sector disproportions weaken domestic demand.

Although real wages have increased 2 percent, as calculated by the Institute, the sector disproportions and decline in employment stabilized the real wage fund. The increase in entitlement payments has in its turn been offset by the higher savings rate and higher taxes than a year ago. To sum up, household purchasing power, which is decisive to demand, has not increased.

In such a situation, one domestic engine of growth is an increase in investment demand, but in view of the continuing low share of investments in the GDP, this is a weak engine. The structure of investment outlays does not promote improvements in the effectiveness of the economy as a whole, because investments are made chiefly in the state sector, and especially in its traditional subsectors (power industry, heavy industries).

It is interesting that public consumption is rising at a higher rate than personal consumption.

The situation on the labor market is viewed favorably. We have a chance to stabilize unemployment at a level below 17 percent. The shape of the state budget also is good. Thus while in the first quarter the budget deficit still amounted to 4.6 percent of the GDP, in the second and third quarters it was 1.4 and 3 percent, respectively,

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or much less than specified in the budget law. This is attributed to greater efficiency of the internal revenue service, but the higher revenues also point to inflationary trends.

**The Call for Stabilizing Factors**

There are no factors assuring a stable growth. Instead of government programs producing multiple benefits to the economy (such as the highway construction program being planned) we face a slowdown of privatization and softer terms for enterprise financing as reflected in, among other things, the considerable (in real terms about 30 percent higher, reaching 19 trillion zlotys) increase in enterprise subsidies (a similar increase is assumed in the draft 1995 budget).

**The Dispute About 17 Percent**

The Institute forecasts that inflation this year, as measured by our particular method, not used anywhere else in the world, from December to December, will amount to 30.6 percent, that is, much higher than the government is dreaming of. To be sure, IBnGR experts caution that they cannot forecast the inflation for the entire next year, but they consider government forecasts of a 17-percent inflation to be unrealistic, for then the average monthly increase in prices would not exceed 1.32 percent, which happened this year only in February.

The IBnGR's forecasts merely states that the overall inflation indicator will drop to 27 percent in the fourth quarter of 1994 and 25 percent in the first quarter of 1995.

NOTE: Quarterly analyses of the business cycle along with forecasts are prepared according to the methodology of the German Economic Research Institute by Miroslaw Gronicki and Bohdan Wyznikiewicz of the IBnGr.

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## Government Rejects UDMR 'Antinational' Position

*AU1612162194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of today's cabinet meeting, the Romanian Government adopted a letter addressed to the martyr city of Timisoara, on the fifth anniversary of the December 1989 Romanian revolution. Government spokesman Mihai Rosca said that the meeting then adopted the government's stance vis-a-vis the statements of the Council of Representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], which we are now presenting in full.

The Romanian Government, taking note of the declaration of the UDMR Council of Representatives—which again challenges the very Constitution of Romania, by claiming, no more or less, that, quote, from the dustbin of history, the idea of the national state has reemerged, end quote—categorically rejects such antinational positions, which amount to a serious attack on the history and existence of the Romanian people. To these not at all haphazard statements by the UDMR leadership, which is one of the pillars of the opposition in Romania, one should add its repeated requests for self-government and self-determination for the Hungarian minority, which defy the most elementary rights of the rule-of-law state and democracy.

These extremist manifestations, which are couched in the demagoguery of continuous complaints at the highest European forums, create only tension in the entire Romanian political and social life and are in flagrant contradiction with the realities of the post-December 1989 revolution period, when the rights of citizens belonging to national minorities in Romania are ensured by firm laws and by the application of all international conventions.

The Romanian Government—by fully observing the Constitution and the legislation of the rule-of-law state as well as the provisions of international and European conventions on basic human rights and freedoms, including of persons belonging to the national minorities—ensures the natural framework for the preservation of their national identity and equal rights for all citizens of Romania, a sovereign and unitary country.

Expressing once more its full disagreement with the unjustified claims formulated by the UDMR representatives, the Romanian Government draws attention to the fact that the preservation of the constitutional order and the observance of the country's laws are basic duties of all citizens, in order to ensure the absolutely necessary climate of stability for continuing the process of reform, of building the state based on the rule of law, of the assertion of democratic values, and of Romania's rapid integration in the European and Euro-Atlantic structures.

## UDMR Reacts

*AU1612214894 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] In accordance with the right to reply, we are presenting the declaration of the Press Bureau of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] president that was faxed to our editorial office at 2006 [1806 GMT].

We express our regret, reads the declaration, for the fact that the Romanian Government, in the document issued today, makes reference to a rough and unofficial translation of the appeal adopted in Cluj by the Council of Representatives of the UDMR, which does not comply with the original text, a translation disseminated by the mass media at the end of the proceedings of the UDMR decisionmaking forum's session held on 10 December 1994. The Press Bureau of the UDMR president, in Information Bulletin No. 242 of 12 December 1994, submitted to the mass media the official translation, in which the syntax in the original text, namely the toboggan of history, was translated into the dustbin of history. Exploiting a real translation mistake, the Romanian Government found a pretext to incriminate the UDMR and the opposition, and is attempting to divert the public's attention from the serious situation of Romanian society.

Taking into account the fact that the government, just like the mass media, had the official text of the appeal available since 13 December 1994, it is clear that the irritated reaction of the executive is part of the series of actions aimed at arousing in the Romanian society resentment against our community and our union, reads the declaration of the Press Bureau of the UDMR president.

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### Carter Arrives in Pale for Talks With Karadzic

*LD1912113694 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 December (SRNA)—Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter arrived in Pale today where he was received by Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic. Carter was also received by Srpska republic vice president Biljana Plavsic, parliamentary chairman Momcilo Krajisnik, prime minister Dusan Kozic, and Tuzla-Zvornik Bishop Vasilije. Talks behind closed doors are also being attended by Srpska republic vice president Nikola Koljevic and foreign minister Aleksa Buha who met Carter at 0900 this morning on the Serb Soldiers' Bridge in Grbavica.

### Carter Begins Talks

*AU1912124794 Paris AFP in English 1147 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[By Bernard Besserglik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dec 19 (AFP)—Former US president Jimmy Carter arrived in the Bosnian Serb stronghold of Pale Monday [19 December] for the second and most crucial stage of his three-day mediation mission.

Meanwhile in The Hague, military chiefs and officials of the 12 countries involved in UN and NATO operations in Bosnia met Monday for talks aimed at bolstering UN effectiveness.

Crossing Sarajevo's Brotherhood and Friendship Bridge, closed for two years of war until last February and open to restricted traffic since then, Carter arrived in the tiny mountain village shortly before 11:00 a.m.(1000 GMT) and was greeted by Serb leader Radovan Karadzic outside the former hotel that the Serbs have adopted as their "presidency."

At a brief photo opportunity before going into talks, Carter praised Karadzic for his invitation for him to visit Bosnia which had, he said, "opened the door for a new opportunity" to resolve the Bosnian conflict.

Everyone he had met, Carter said, had let him know that "today here in Pale will be the key to success or failure of my mission."

Carter, who late Sunday had an hour of talks with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo, made no reference to the content of the talks he would be having with the Serb leadership, though he noted there were "some difficult decisions to be reached."

Izetbegovic said Sunday that Carter had informed him Karadzic had expressed readiness to discuss mediation with a view to acceptance of the contact group peace plan, drawn up by the United States, Russia, France, Britain and Germany.

He said Carter had assured him he was not proposing changes to the plan, though Carter said he regarded the plan as the "basis" for future negotiations.

The former president thanked Karadzic for expressing, in his invitation to come to Pale, his "commitment to honour human rights throughout the country."

He accepted, in response to a complaint by Karadzic that the Serb case was not well presented in the United States, "that they (the American people) hear principally one side of the story," but said that "today is one of the rare chances to let the world know the truth and explain the commitment of the Serbs to a peace agreement."

Karadzic was accompanied by his deputy Nikola Koljevic and his foreign affairs spokesman as he greeted Carter. Serb army chief Ratko Mladic was not attending the talks.

The Serb leader welcomed Carter's visit as a "brilliant opportunity to offer you facts and data, to offer you the truth."

He said he hoped "to be able to come to some resolution which could open the door to peace."

Carter was due to complete his talks here by the evening before returning to Sarajevo. He was to report back to Izetbegovic and the Bosnian government before flying out of the besieged city.

He said he had accepted an invitation to travel to Belgrade to meet Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic after leaving Bosnia.

### Meets With Izetbegovic

*AU1812205094 Paris AFP in English 2020 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[By Bernard Besserglik]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Dec 18 (AFP)—Former US President Jimmy Carter arrived in Sarajevo Sunday [18 December] to mediate in the Bosnian conflict, playing down hopes of a diplomatic coup by stressing the "limited role" he could play in achieving a settlement.

After landing at Sarajevo airport late afternoon he went into an hour-long meeting with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

Carter said after the talks that they had focused on the five- nation Contact Group's peace plan for the former Yugoslav republic.

"I have come to be constructive. I think that the Contact Group plan is the basis for future progress, and that what is done within the Contact Group plan must be mutually decided between the Bosnian government and (Bosnian Serb leader) Mr. (Radovan) Karadzic's people," he said.

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Izetbegovic said Carter informed him that Karadzic, in inviting the former President to Bosnia Wednesday, had said there was readiness on the Serb side to accept mediation with a view to accepting the Contact Group plan.

"Carter said he had not come to change the plan," Izetbegovic stressed. "I am pointing this out because there has been speculation in this regard."

The Bosnian president said Friday that Carter's one-man mission would be "a waste of time" if he tried to change the Contact Group's take-it-or-leave-it plan which partitions the country roughly in half between the Bosnian Serbs and a Croat-Moslem Federation.

The Serbs have rejected the plan and are holding out for full sovereignty and a larger share of territory.

Carter's arrival in Sarajevo appeared to imply that he was satisfied the Serbs had sufficiently honoured pledges made by Karadzic last Wednesday, notably covering improved relations with the UN Protection Force in Bosnia, a ceasefire in and around Sarajevo and a reopening of the city's airport.

Carter noted a recent improvement in the number of convoy clearances but refused to be drawn further on the subject.

Izetbegovic said that at least one of the promises, that of a full reopening of the airport, had not been made good. [passage omitted]

Carter is to travel to the Serb stronghold of Pale on Monday for talks with Karadzic "and other leaders of the Serbian forces," he said. He will then report back to the Bosnian government early Tuesday before leaving at midday.

Stressing the "private" nature of his visit, Carter said he hoped to be able to talk to UN officials late Sunday for further briefing.

Seven UN Protection Force flights landed at Sarajevo airport Sunday, apparently making good on one of the Karadzic pledges.

But the fuel situation in and around Sarajevo remained desperate as Serb officials again refused clearance for all but 18,000 litres of diesel—barely half a day's supply—and turned down a request for two full convoys.

### Invited To Visit Bihac

*AU1912094394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Hamdija Kabiljagic, president of the Bihac Regional Assembly, has sent a letter to the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, inviting him to visit the Bihac region.

The letter states, among other things, the following: We, citizens of the Bihac region, appreciate your efforts to contribute to the just solution to the consequences of the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina through this private visit to the countries that have emerged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We propose that you give up any further mediation with Karadzic and [Serbian President] Milosevic unless you obtain from them at the very beginning of your talks the recognition of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its internal delineation as suggested by the Contact group, as well as the respect of international law and the Security Council resolutions on the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This was stated among other things in the letter that Hamdija Kabiljagic, president of the Bihac Regional Assembly, has sent a letter to the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

### Izetbegovic on Talks

*LD1812222094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[Quotation marks denote recorded passages]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Following his talks in Frankfurt and Zagreb, former American President Jimmy Carter has arrived on a private visit to Sarajevo. During his one-hour talk, Carter informed Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic about the aims of his visit. After the talks they held a news conference. Nedzad Leko has a report.

[Leko] [passage indistinct] Asked whether the Contact Group's plan is the only acceptable plan or only a possible basis for future talks, President Izetbegovic said:

[Izetbegovic] "I understood that President Carter has not come here to change the Contact Group's plan. He has come to mediate in the Serbian side's acceptance of the plan. This is what he will try to do in Pale tomorrow. He believes that he understood from his discussion with Karadzic that there is a certain willingness to compromise. We also discussed a possible cease-fire over a limited period of time. What is important, what we wanted to know and what I told President Carter is that he is not coming with a new plan. I am stressing this because there have been speculations to this effect."

[Leko] [passage omitted] When journalists pointed out that the Serbs have not made good the promises which were a precondition for Carter's arrival—to allow free passage to convoys and to open Sarajevo airport—Carter said:

[Carter, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] "I do not want to comment on details. A report I received stated that out of 20 convoys 17 were allowed to go through, two were denied passage—I do not know why—and one was delayed."

[Leko] Thereupon Izetbegovic added:

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[Izetbegovic] "I drew Mr. Carter's attention to the fact that one thing that can be easily checked is that Sarajevo airport is not open. Therefore, one of the promises has not been fulfilled. I do not know exactly what is happening to convoys today. But, in connection with the cease-fire I mentioned earlier, I would like to stress that we insisted that we are not ready to accept a cease-fire which would not include an immediate cease-fire in Bihac. Since the talk about Mr Carter's visit started, the fighting around Bihac has been stepped up. We fear that this visit could be used as a smoke-screen for finishing off work up there in the Bihac region."

[Leko] Journalists asked President Izetbegovic whether there are any differences between his and Mr. Carter's views on the Contact Group's plan.

[Izetbegovic] "I stressed that a very clear and unconditional acceptance of the Contact Group's plan by Karadzic must precede any other talks. Mr. Carter confirmed that this is his stance too. He said that he would demand the same thing if he were in our place."

[Leko] At the end of today's news conference President Izetbegovic said that he does not think that Jimmy Carter's visit represents the distancing of official Washington from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

### Silajdzic Skeptical

*LD1812220594 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 2027 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Frankfurt/Main (DDP/ADN)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has expressed great skepticism about the chances of success of the mediation attempt by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter. He does not believe this visit can bring a breakthrough in the Bosnian conflict, the premier said in Frankfurt/Main today after meeting Carter in Zagreb. Silajdzic said he sees a danger of Carter's visit undermining the peace plan of the Contact Group. "This plan is final and cannot be renegotiated," the Bosnian premier said. Silajdzic stressed however that as a prominent campaigner for human rights, Carter is welcome in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

### Serbian Attacks on Bihac Region Reported

*AU1912121494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian*

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Republic of Srpska leader Radovan] Karadzic's and [republic of Serbian Krajian leader Milan] Martic's Chetniks have intensified artillery-tank and infantry attacks on the Bihac region in the last 24 hours. Violent attacks on Bihac and its outskirts, Zegar, Vedro Polje, Klokot, [word indistinct] and Medeljaca area, lasted all night last night, and were especially violent this morning. Artillery, tank, and infantry attacks have been coming in waves. The town itself has been a target of artillery and tank fire. Fighting is intensifying as we report. This, too, is obviously part of the plan to enable Martic's Chetniks to intensify attacks on the Velika Kladusa front, where the situation remains the gravest.

The town has simply been razed. All buildings have been (?more or less) destroyed. The (?crazed) Chetniks are destroying anything that stands more than a few inches above the ground. There are many casualties. However, it is extremely difficult to obtain information.

Members of the 5th Corps on the dominant elevations east and west of the town, on the newly established defense lines, are controlling parts of the town there. Martic's and [autonomous province of western Bosnia leader Fikret] Abdic's Chetniks are trying to enter these parts of the town.

Artillery attacks have also been stepped up on the Buzim and Bosanska Krupa fronts, as well as on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau. The Chetnik offensive from the UNPA [UN Protected Area] in Croatia is obviously only gaining in intensity now, on its 59th day.

Despite everything, all lines of defense are firm and stable. members of the 5th Corps and the entire population of the Bihac region are putting up superhuman heroic resistance to [word indistinct] of Bihac.

### Rebel Muslim Forces Recapture Velika Kladusa

*LD1712192894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1916 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Velika Kladusa, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The supreme command of the national defense of the autonomous province of western Bosnia announced this evening that its forces "completely liberated Velika Kladusa" at around 1500 today.

The statement says that following several hours of heavy fighting today, units of the national defense of western Bosnia overran the last remaining strongholds in Velika Kladusa held by leftover groups of the Muslim 5th Corps, loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, and stamped out their resistance.

All surrounding villages in the Velika Kladusa area have been liberated in the offensive launched by Fikret Abdic's forces.

The 5th Corps sustained heavy losses in manpower and equipment in these inter-Muslim clashes, the supreme command of western Bosnia claims.

### Rebels Celebrate in Town Square

*LD1712223894 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2146 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac, 17 December (SRNA)—Units of the people's defense of western Bosnia liberated Velika Kladusa this afternoon expelling all the members of the 5th Corps from the town.

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The same source confirmed that soldiers of the people's defense entered the town center of Velika Kladusa and that Abdic's units were celebrating in the town square.

Radio Velkaton sent an appeal to tens of thousands of refugees in Batnoga and Turanj in the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina asking them not to return individually because collective return will be organized tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

### Muslim-Croat Clashes Renewed in Mostar

*LD1912120094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bileca, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Heavy infantry fire was heard last night and this morning in the Buna area, about 10 kilometers south of Mostar, as well as in the central parts of Mostar along the demarcation line between Muslim and Croat forces, Serb military sources report.

It is presumed that clashes between Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces and soldiers loyal to Alija Izetbegovic have been renewed, although Croatian and Muslim radios remain silent on this matter.

The latest deterioration of Muslim-Croat relations in Mostar is taking place after the murder of two elderly Muslim women in the western [Croat-held] part of the town. [passage omitted: covered by referent item]

Safet Orucevic, mayor of the Muslim part of Mostar, claims that 17 Muslims have been killed in the Croat-held part of Mostar over the last two months.

### Croats: Muslims Trying To Create 'Jamahiriyah'

*LD1712200594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Assembly session in Zenica was adjourned after three days of squabbling over the agenda caused by Muslim demands that Federation President Kresimir Zubak and Vice President Ejup Ganic swap posts. The Croat position was explained at a news conference in Mostar today.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Stressing that the Muslim demand for rotation at the federation's helm was not a technical problem but an important political issue, Ivan Bender, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies [of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna] said:

[Bender] I wish to point out here that this was an attempt to impose Muslim positions, an attempt at domination, not to use a stronger expression—an attempt to create a Jamahiriyah in this region, something the Croats will not permit.

The Croats are in favor of a genuine Bosnia-Herzegovina federation, a Muslim-Croat association made up of two parts. What the Muslims are forgetting is the parallel setting up of the confederation between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the Republic of Croatia.

[Correspondent] Mr. Bender, what would be a just denouement, that is, a just solution to this situation?

[Bender] To reach agreement that one of the key posts is held by the Croat nation. You will see from all our contacts that justice will triumph in some 30 days. [end recording]

### More on Dispute

*LD1712152394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Bender, chairman of the chamber of deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, today held a news conference upon his return from Zenica, where the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation's Assembly session was suspended. Ankica Posavljak reports from Mostar.

[Posavljak] As expected, the media's attention today was centered on the demand for dismissals in the top echelons of the federation presented by the Muslim side at the last session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federal and republican assembly. According to Ivan Bender, chairman of the chamber of deputies of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, the Croatian side in Zenica was ready for both party and legal coordination, even agreeing to comply with the result of possible arbitration by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitutional Court, which has been set up and is in operation. In other words, the Croatian side was ready for any kind of agreement, but was not prepared to agree with not having a single Croat at the pinnacle of federal authority, for this would spell the suppression of the rights of Croat people, and an effective way to ensure their extinction.

Mr. Bender also said today that this demand on the part of the Muslim side did not reflect the views of the entire Muslim leadership but of only one faction, and of individuals unwilling to compromise. He stressed that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina are not insisting on retaining the post of federation president, but are demanding that one of the top posts—federal or republican prime minister, for instance—be held by a Croat. He also expressed his hope that reason would prevail. Failing this, he said, such demands could lead to the break-up of the federation, which would neither be in the interests of the Croats nor the Muslims.

### Zubak Criticizes Muslims

*LD1612192594 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bosniak-Muslim side's demand for the dismissal of Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation President Kresimir Zubak and replacing him with Ejup Ganic has again raised the political temperature surrounding the implementation of the Washington

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agreements. In a talk with HINA [Croatian news agency] correspondent Pero Gasparevic, President Zubak hinted at the possibility of being replaced, but on condition that the future president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation is a Croat. Here are some excerpts from this interview.

[Begin recording] [Zubak] The provisions of the Federal Constitution for the transitional period do not specify how long the federal president's term in office should be. However, it was proposed that elections should be called within a six-month period from the adoption of the Constitution. It has been envisaged that all bodies of federal authority for the transitional period be constituted beforehand. It is common knowledge that this was not done. This period has been extended; finally, at the last Federal Assembly session I proposed that the assembly adopt a draft amendment to the Federal Constitution concerning the extension of this period. In legal terms, my term in office has not expired and, finally, a top-level change could be possible only in the way in which I was elected, meaning that the constituent assembly would need a two-thirds majority comprising most of the Croat and Bosniak-Muslim deputies. This is not a technical issue, a decision must be made in such a form. So much for the legal aspects.

The political reasons are clear—we cannot accept a solution by which all key posts in the Federation and Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina would be held by representatives of only one nation. This is a period in which the war is still raging, where historic decisions must be made and—despite the trust we have in Bosniak-Muslim officials—we cannot authorize them to represent the interests of the Croat people in contacts with the international community, bilateral contacts and so forth. Therefore, our position is that one of the key posts must be held by a Croat, in this case the post of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation president. We have made it clear that we are ready to negotiate; this post does not necessarily have to be the Federation president, it could be the prime minister, but one of these posts must be held by a representative of the Croat people.

[Gasparevic] This means that you and the Croat side would be willing to swap posts with the Muslims on condition that one of them is held by a Croat.

[Zubak] Certainly. We are open for talks. We are not presenting any ultimatums. At the moment we are relying on the law and the provisions of the Constitution, which cannot bring my mandate into question. We are ready to carry out this rotation for the post of the federation president on condition that a candidate from the ranks of the Croat people be nominated for the post of federal prime minister. [end recording]

### Muslims, Croats Dispute Control of Forces

*LD1612205594 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] The defense ministry of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna has issued a statement in response to a statement by Brigadier Sead Delic. The statement stresses:

In response to the statement by Sead Delic, the new commander of the 2d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—that all units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in the Orasje operational zone in northern Bosnia are part of the 2d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army—we are stressing again that all units in the Orasje operational zone are under the command of the sole main headquarters of the HVO of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna. Similar statements, which we heard on many occasions before by some high-ranking officers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, do not contribute at all to the setting up of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the numerous agreements on cooperation between the HVO and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army forces.

### First UNPROFOR Flights Arrive at Sarajevo

*AU1712165694 Paris AFP in English 1638 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 17 (AFP)—Three UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] flights landed in Sarajevo Saturday [17 December] to permit troop rotations, the first since the airport was closed almost a month ago, UN Protection Force spokeswoman Myriam Sochacki said.

The three planes, an Antonov, a Yak and a C-130, arrived in mid-afternoon after three morning flights were cancelled due to the late arrival of Serb clearance. Among the military personnel arriving in Sarajevo was General Amedee Monchal, chief of staff of the French Army making an end-of-year visit to French peacekeepers stationed in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serb officials in their "capital" Pale announced Thursday they would allow UNPROFOR flights from Saturday to permit troop rotation, with the prospect of resuming the airlift of humanitarian flights soon after. The airlift to Sarajevo has been down since November 19 when it was suspended amid a heightening of tension as Serbs launched an offensive against the Bihac enclave in northwestern Bosnia, which includes a UN-mandated safe area.

A slight easing of relations, permitting the UN operation to proceed at a "bare minimum" level, has been observed between Serbs and UN officials since Serb leader Radovan Karadzic on Wednesday issued an invitation to former US President Jimmy Carter to mediate in the Bosnian conflict. Carter was due to arrive here on Sunday afternoon and travel on to Serb-held territory on Monday.

### UN Says French Plane Hit by SA-7 Missile

*AU1712191394 Paris AFP in English 1904 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 17 (AFP)—A French Super-Etendard warplane was hit by a shoulder-launched anti-aircraft missile during a reconnaissance

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flight Saturday [17 December] over war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina, a UN official said here.

The plane was hit by a SAM-7 anti-aircraft missile fired from high ground in the Gornji Vakuf area in central Bosnia, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Dirk von Merveldt said here. The area is controlled by Bosnian Moslem and Croat forces. Von Merveldt said initial UN reports could not identify the source of fire, but added: "We can say it was not the (Bosnian) Serbs who fired."

The confrontation line between Serbs and Moslems is some 40 kilometres (25 miles) west of Gornji Vakuf.

In Naples, NATO's Southern Command headquarters said the aircraft was one of two overflying the former Yugoslav republic around 2:50 p.m. (1350 GMT) when the pilot reported his tailfin had been hit and probably damaged. NATO officials, who did not identify the type of weapon used against the aircraft, said the pilot was not injured in the incident.

Both warplanes were diverted to an Italian Air Force base at Gioia del Colle, in preference to a trickier landing on the aircraft carrier Foch, from which they had earlier taken off, and landed safely.

"Investigations will be carried out into the origin and nature of the fire from the ground," a NATO official said in Naples.

### UN Relief Convoy Reaches Bihac 16 Dec

*AU1612175294 Paris AFP in English 1741 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 16 (AFP)—A ten-truck convoy carrying more than 100 tonnes of food reached the besieged Moslem enclave of Bihac in north-west Bosnia Friday [16 December], the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] reported in Zagreb.

It was only the second convoy allowed into Bihac by the Serbs since October 1 and took more than 48 hours to cover the 150 kilometres (90 miles) between Zagreb and the small town of Cazin north of Bihac town where the UNHCR administrative centre is located.

After leaving Zagreb on Wednesday morning it was held up by Serbs at Moscenica 60 kilometres (35 miles) south-east as it attempted to enter the Krajina region of Croatia which is under Serb control.

On Thursday morning it was allowed to enter Krajina where it was searched, without incident, before moving on to Glina where it halted for the night. On Friday morning it set off for Bihac but had to make a detour to avoid the fighting at Vladika Kladusa between Serb forces and the Bosnian Army.

The convoy was carrying 106 tonnes of food for the civilians trapped in the Bihac enclave, including flour, cooking oil, salt, ready-prepared meals and baby food.

### UN Troops 'in Difficulty' in Bihac

*AU1812215894 Paris AFP in English 2137 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec 18 (AFP)—Bangladeshi troops are in difficulty inside Bihac pocket in northwestern Bosnia because of fighting in the region, UN spokesman Michael Williams said here Sunday [18 December] .

There were clashes across the day not far from the Bangladeshi battalion's logistical base on the southern fringes of Velika Kladusa, which the Bosnian army confirmed Sunday had fallen to forces led by dissident Moslem leader Fikret Abdic backed by Croatian Serb troops.

Some 300 UN troops are cut off from the main Bangladeshi contingent based some 25 kilometres (15 miles) further south near Cazin.

Williams said an attempt to get a convoy carrying medical supplies through to the stranded men failed Sunday, despite the Serbs having authorised the trucks to pass.

Earlier a Bosnian Army communique cited by Bosnian television said the Moslem-dominated Bosnian Army Fifth Corps had "established new defence lines" east and south of the Velika Kladusa area in the northwestern Bihac pocket.

Sunday evening Bosnian Serb television showed images of Kladusa streets patrolled by Abdic forces.

### Karadzic Analyzes Situation, Future Options

*AU1712181294 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 94 pp 4-9*

["Exclusive" interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zoran Petrovic-Pirocanac; date and place not given: "The Serbs in the Balkans Are Tailoring the History of the World; Unless World War III Is Being Prepared, This War Will End in Six Months"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petrovic-Pirocanac] Mr. President, it seems that there are changes for the better in the international position of the Srpska republic. The situation is at the same time very critical, though.

[Karadzic] With the acceptance of the [Contact Group] plan by Yugoslavia in August, great hopes by the international community arose that the Serbs would finally have to accept the maps after all, and that it was a matter of a day, or a week, before they would start collaborating in both a political and military sense. Yugoslavia's accepting of the maps was very damaging for us, otherwise that plan would have already failed.

Four months of the blockade have already passed, a blockade that was imposed on us by Yugoslavia. In this

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period we became weaker economically, but not politicallly or militarily. The people are very determined and united in not accepting these maps. The army is managing to hold all of its lines, even though we have been in a passive defense so far. However, wherever we have decided to embark on active defense, or a counteroffensive, we had success. I think that the Bihac fighting has shown to the Muslim's allies not to expect the Muslims to achieve anything on the battlefield.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Kupres fell, though.

[Karadzic] Unfortunately, the town of Kupres and a part of that commune fell in the meantime. From the viewpoint of a political solution, this is insignificant, however. We shall accept this if it comes to a political decision, but if there is no political decision, we shall regain Kupres with all military means. At the moment when we are consolidated on other fronts, we can regain any part of the land that we might lose in this period.

The international community has softened its attitude toward the Srpska republic in the meantime; this is quite clear. It is not required from us any longer to give our signature; it seems that not even a resolute "yes" is required. There are both militant and peaceful signs in the United States. We are waiting to see which option will win there. I think that NATO has tested its efficiency in Bosnia and that it delivered a dangerous blow to itself, if not a coup de grace.

It can generally be said that many things have happened in these four months. We have established contact with President Milosevic through a parliamentary delegation of ours in order to decide what to do, in order to get the information on something he might know that we do not know.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] The latest CSCE summit conference has just been completed. A militant rhetoric primarily manifested by the delegation of the Bosnian Muslims and Helmut Kohl could be heard again.

[Karadzic] The general tactics of Germany and the United States, their strategy is to destroy the Balkans, to humiliate and impoverish it, to make it their new colony. This is especially true of Germany. It plans to impoverish the Balkans, to split the region into tiny states in order to make it possible for German industry to organize its own industry in this territory—the textile and the chemical industries, dirty technologies, etc. The Balkans is really being prepared to be Germany's dump.

Both Germany and the United States are going in this direction. The United States is doing this with the aim to break Europe, to prove that Europe cannot be saved, that it will groan under Germany without the United States. These are the motives.

Their biggest success is certainly that they have excluded the Serbs from all agreements. The aim of the sanctions was to exclude the Serbs as a subject from political agreements and to impoverish Serbia, to break it. This strategy has not changed up to now. You see, there are even political parties in Serbia, such as the New Democracy Party, which support the idea of making a federation out of Serbia. This means that Vojvodina would not be autonomous any longer, it would be a federal unit. These plans have remained on the table and they will not be given up unless they are very, very expensive for the West.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] What is the position of the Srpska republic here?

[Karadzic] We have remained somewhere around the table as a subject owing to the fact that we have not accepted the plan and that our army has not been defeated. On the contrary, we have achieved military victories, military successes.

We are confronted with the problem now how to help our friends in the world. It is clear that we have friends in the world. They are not our friends because they love us, but because their and our interests overlap now. The remaining part of Europe does not want Europe to be a part of Germany. Russia has already reached the stage when it has to care for itself because it is in a desperate situation. The volcano lava has reached its doors already so that there is also the problem of the existence of Russia now, not only of Serbia. In other words, we are only a chip in the game of the big powers, and in some countries we are a chip for "domestic use" only.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] There is the clash of two different opinions [in the United States], both in the Republican and in the Democratic Party.

[Karadzic] I think that Bosnia will be a test for Clinton, an example, a stone the Republicans will be able to throw at Clinton whenever they feel like doing so. I therefore think that the U.S. administration might now for the first time support an end to the war in Bosnia and a solution to this problem, no matter what it is like. Clinton will otherwise not be able to sustain the pressure from the Congress; he will be forced to enter the war in Bosnia, which means two or three certain defeats for Clinton and the Democratic Party in the next elections.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Speaking about the geographic factor in politics, President Mitterrand said that Barcelona would always be closer to Europe than San Francisco. What preconditions are necessary for both Serbia and Germany to improve their relations, given that we are technologically far more connected to Germany than to France?

[Karadzic] Everything depends on which alliances are established in Europe. If the Paris-Bonn alliance is established, Britain will be excluded from the game and it will become a third-class country. It can look toward Russia for consolation. In such a constellation the Serbs will be a target of Germany because they will be blamed as possible Russian allies. Britain has always had its interests in the Balkans, it has always very successfully

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succeeded in relying on the Serbs and the Greeks, so that it will this time, too, try to come closer to the Serbs.

If the alliance Moscow-Berlin, or Moscow-Bonn—a new Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement—is established, England and France will establish their alliance as the counterweight to it. The German-Serbian opposition could be reduced then, but the Serbs would have France and England as their new enemies. There is one thing, however, which spoils the possibility of good relations with Germany—the Croats.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Have the relations between Germany and Croatia not been disturbed so far?

[Karadzic] Germany is a very devoted Croatian ally, and all our troubles result from the fact that Germany does not allow any Croatian interest to be damaged. Only Germany is a real ally of its allies. Both England and France know how to get themselves out at a critical moment. Not to mention the United States of America, which left all of its former allies in the lurch, including Vietnam, Reza Pahlavi, etc. In other words, the United States is the least reliable ally, and I would be worried if I were in the position of the Muslims. I would not dare completely rely on U.S. offers and promises.

If it is possible to reconcile European interests, I shall support the development of good relations with Germany.

If Europe really becomes united, under equal conditions for all states, without German domination, it is possible that Germany would come closer to Serbia after it realizes that it cannot destroy it. This also depends on the relations with Russia. It is a big question what will happen with Russia; if Europe realizes that it must integrate Russia into Europe, the United States will lose very much. If Kozyrev and others remain willing to develop best relations with the United States, Russia will lose Europe. It depends on this enigma whether Serbia will have good relations with Germany.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] In the view of U.S. experts, "operation Gorazde" was the one that prevented the Serbian backbone from being broken. You claimed and you are still claiming that the struggle of the Srpska republic is the defense of Serbia, but for how long can the lonely Serbs go on fighting?

[Karadzic] We can fight for a long time because our people are wonderful. They are ready to suffer hunger, although we still have food. We are helped by humanitarian organizations, too. Our soldiers are also grateful. It is true that they receive their salaries very irregularly, but it is also true that there is no hunger, that the Serbs do not have to fight any longer "in their own suit and on their own bread," the wives do not have to bring food for their husbands to the front any longer, as was the case in earlier wars. This adaptability of our people and their decisiveness not to allow themselves to be broken will enable us to fight for a relatively long time.

I do not only think that we are fighting in order to save the Serbian backbone, we are fighting to save the backbone of the Balkans. It is clear that Germany and the United Sates of America, in contrast to perhaps France and England, do not want to see that the Balkans has a backbone. Once the Serbian state is established in the Balkans, anyone will have to negotiate with that state. It will not be possible to dictate conditions to that state. It will be attractive for alliances then. Other states will compete for Serbia as an ally.

The present situation is to be or not to be for the Serbian state and the Serbian nation in general. If we yield now, there will be no Serbia, or it will be very small and insignificant; the Serbian people will be scattered around the world like Armenians after the genocide and like the Jews after they lost their state; a poor exotic group scattered around the world, with a small enclave, with one small Serbia in the center of the Balkans, which will have to accept all possible dictates.

This is the history of the world, this is not only the history of the Serbian nation. The picture of Europe will be different if there is a great Serbian state than if there is small Serbian state in the Balkans. We are convinced that we are fighting for Serbia. Most of our people know and feel this.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] You are sometimes accused of the intention to pull Serbia into the war.

[Karadzic] This is not true. I keep on repeating that we are very lucky this time—this is the first war that will not burn down Serbia and Montenegro. We shall recover easily. We have not sold a single factory up to now, we still have our property, everything is here. Our recovery will be easy because we shall get our state and our freedom without Serbia and Montenegro being destroyed. There are sanctions imposed against them, but even if there were a market economy, it is questionable whether Serbia would live any better than today. The rumors that Serbia loses 1 or 2 billion dollars per month are a myth. These are really stories for small children.... After this war, which will—I am convinced—remain outside Serbia, it will not be easy to attack Serbia, neither from Kosovo nor from Vojvodina—a new [chapter in the] history of not only Serbia but of Europe will start.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] It does not seem that the United States of America is ready to accept this new history.

[Karadzic] We have contacts with some Americans. Of course, the situation is still tense, they insist that Bosnia be preserved as a state. We say that this is out of question. Our minimum is sovereignty. Whether they will allow us to immediately unite with Serbia, this is a question of time. But, once one acquires sovereignty, one has the sovereign right to use this sovereignty. After that, we can do whatever we want. Our minimum is a viable state that can exist and defend itself on its own. We have achieved that, we have that.

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I usually make a joke and say that if a man wants to have his children and his state, he has to make them himself. If somebody else makes them for him, they do not belong to him and he cannot control them. Relations within the international community are comparable to those in a wolf's den. A people that cannot defend itself must disappear, it is either oppressed or it has to accept somebody else's interests. And in that case it must somehow be aware of the fact that it has disappeared, like Slovenia is endangered, for example. They did not want to stay in Yugoslavia, but now they will get a more difficult master. Slovenia might physically exist, but it will disappear in the spiritual sense, as an entity.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Why does the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia insist on the protection of Bihac and the reestablishment of Fikret Abdic? Which general Serbian interest is behind it?

[Karadzic] The Serbian interest lies in the River Una valley. The railway connection between Knin and Belgrade goes through there, which is very important for us. Furthermore, it is our interest to demilitarize this area. It is not our intention to seize somebody else's territories. We do not want anybody to accuse us of these things. We attacked Bihac because we were provoked, we did it because they seized 300 square km of our territory from us. The United States made a fuss in order to return Aristide to Haiti. We do not have the same right, we are not the power that can arbitrate around the world, but we made peace with Abdic. We consider Abdic the legitimate president, the man who is legitimately supported by the people. If he returns to power, we know that the 5th Corps [of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina] will disappear. Whether or not someone in Yugoslavia is dreaming about Abdic's return to Yugoslavia, I do not know. What kind of relations Abdic will establish with the Srpska republic—I do not know either. The Srpska assembly will have to decide on that. According to our constitution it will be necessary to organize a referendum since the people have to decide on every merger in a referendum. It is our aim to have no enemies in western Bosnia. Either our friends or we have to be present there. This is very important also for Serbian Krajina; Croatia knows this very well.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] After the meeting with [British Foreirn Minister Douglas] Hurd and [French Foreign Minister Alain] Juppe, President Milosevic let the international community quite clearly know that he could not decisively influence the decisions made by the population of the Srpska republic. Did this statement encourage you?

[Karadzic] I think that we should have realized this a long time ago. We should have informed the international community to leave Serbia in peace and to remove the sanctions imposed on it because it was not Serbia which started the war so that it cannot stop it now, either. Serbia is our mother country and it is legal and quite normal that we received help from it. The problem of our destiny, of our existence is, however, the problem of the people of the Srpska republic. I think that it would have been much easier and better if we had said this in time, if Serbia had made the following statement: "Leave us alone, negotiate with the Bosnian Serbs, and we have to send them humanitarian aid, just like you send humanitarian aid to the Muslims. The negotiators have to go to Pale, they cannot come only to Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade."

It is not possible to achieve peace in any other way. We do not believe that anyone but us can present our minimum requirements and enable the plan to be accepted. We know what our people can do and want to do and what they do not want to do.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] [U.S. ambassador to Germany] Charles Redman who—as it is claimed by the people acquainted with the Contact Group work—damaged the Serbs by his relatively drastic changes of the maps, came to Pale, though. Did you have the impression on that occasion that things would improve?

[Karadzic] Things seem to be changing in the sense that we have the impression that the United States, in other words the Clinton administration, wants to reach a solution now. Clinton is entering a very unpleasant two-year period before the next election with a Congress in which his party does not have a majority, and Bosnia could be very dangerous for him. We have the information that Redman made the maps even worse out of fear that the Serbs might accept them. He studied what the Serbs cannot in any case accept and put it into the maps—in order to be sure that the Serbs would reject them, everything with the aim to prolong the war and the sanctions.

It is possible that a part of the U.S. administration wants this crisis to come to an end now, and this is a big chance for peace. If they want war, they can easily achieve this with the Muslims, but we are ready for peace immediately.

The U.S. ambassador in Bonn is perhaps the most important ambassador in the U.S. State Department because Germany is the main U.S. partner. It can even be claimed that the United States has better relations with Germany than with Japan. This means that Redman is perhaps the most important ambassador in the United States, and this is a result of the conference on Bosnia. This is where he achieved success. He accomplished the task the United States required from him—that the Serbs do not accept the plan in order to prolong the war.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Can it be concluded from the impressions you had during the meeting with Redman that the United States would support the idea to organize new talks in Geneva soon?

[Karadzic] We have good friends, prominent Americans, either present or former government officials. We also

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have very interesting friends in Britain who regularly inform us on their attitudes and opinions. There is a prominent foreigner here who is writing a book about us and who possibly has the best knowledge of the situation. He is acquainted with the strategy and with both U.S. and German plans. We think that a change has to come in the United States. This change is still not evident, but it is quite certain that Perry and the whole defense complex, the Pentagon, maintains that an agreement with the Serbs has to be reached, that the Muslims have to accept less than 51 percent of the territory, and that the crisis has to be over as soon as possible. I am not sure whether the situation is the same in [Secretary of State Wwarren] Christopher's bloc at the State Department, although it can be heard there, too—with the aim to save Clinton's administration—that the crisis has to be completed and that the United States should work on it.

Regarding Europe, we know that Britain and France do not support the Serbian defeat; they even openly admit this. They support the idea of making the Serbs accept the plan, but they do not want them to be defeated. This means that we either have whole states as our friends, or political blocs in some other states that support us.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] On the day when NATO aircraft bombed [the Krajina], however, strange things happened, such as that the Citizens' Alliance organized a party on that occasion. It is not clear whether NATO did some damage, or whether it was only a demonstration of power?

[Karadzic] The damage was not big, but not because they did not want to cause big damage. There are people who claim that NATO did not want to do damage, but this is not true. They missed a Serbian tank in the Sarajevo field by only 90 meters, for example. They did not do any damage because they could not fly at low altitudes out of fear of being shot down and because they were not guided by lasers from the ground. In the Bihac pocket we kept on changing the position of our units, especially of the missile radar units, which locate aircraft. The pilots in the air are scared because they receive a signal that they have been located and they start shooting.

There were even cases in which fire was automatically opened against our radars. One of our antenna was damaged in this way, for example. As I said we changed the position of our units very frequently so that the planes shot at old positions. We also had false positions that they shelled. After we had changed the position of our police brigade, for example, they shot at the place where it had been situated three hours before. This means that we would have had victims if we had not made the changes. Both in Gorazde and in Bihac we intensified our attacks after their bombardments. We are not afraid of their bombardments. By shelling our positions they can inflict damage on us, but by doing so they practically get involved in a war against us. We shot down some aircraft. If you have a look at their confidential reports, you will realize that they paid a high price, too.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] According to the information we have, six aircraft were shot down.

[Karadzic] As far as we know four. One or two more fell into the Adriatic; they were probably hit by our missiles. They were surprised by some of our weapons. At Gorazde they were surprised by having been shot at by something they could not identify, something that cannot be deceived by infrared decoys. This is one of the innovations made by our army. We have made 70 innovations during this war. We have made new combinations of weapons, so that they do not know what they can expect from us. They have reached a deep moral crisis, which we expected. We said: "If NATO gets involved, this will cause a deep moral crisis in the NATO nations, and it will be a big temptation for the NATO organization." We were right, you can see that NATO almost collapsed because of the attacks on the Serbs.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Who plans your military actions?

[Karadzic] There is a team, the function of which is not, however, that I hide myself behind it. It is I who makes the decisions, but we work on decisions together, because I want to hear everybody else's opinion, too. When a decision has to be taken, I take it and sign it and then the executive order for the General Staff is given. The General Staff analyzes the decision from the operational point of view before it is implemented.

The counteroffensive on Gorazde had been planned much earlier, but I did not allow it to start before the Croatian-Muslim Assembly about the Washington Agreement had begun. If we had started the counteroffensive at Gorazde before they started, their Assembly could have collapsed and they would have accused us of spoiling it. I gave the order on 28 March, when the Assembly started.

Fortunately, the plan for that counteroffensive remained secret so that it was a big surprise for the Muslims although it had been planned long before it started. Normally, our children hear from their parents what we plan to do and speak about it in the street. We are not very good in keeping secrets.... We wanted to show our power in Gorazde and Bihac, we wanted to break the backbone of the Muslim army and show our enemy that it would come down either to a big war or to peace. We do not like the situation of "neither war nor peace" because it exhausts both Serbia and us because of the sanctions.

We made fierce attacks on Gorazde and Bihac because we wanted to show the Muslim army that it had no chance. When [head of UNPROFOR in Bosnia Michael] Rose saw all the peaks and locations we liberated around Gorazde he could not believe it. He thought that the Muslims fled on purpose. It was not like that, however. They could not flee—they were humiliated and they asked for mercy. Even [Bosnian Prime Minister Haris] Silajdzic said: "You are humiliating us, let us uphold our honor."

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[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Is it true that the UN Protection Force members surrendered to your units on purpose in the Gorazde offensive? Can you tell us what actually happened with these soldiers?

[Karadzic] I ordered to intensify the precautionary measures toward UN Protection Force soldiers because NATO started shooting. We did not know how events would unfold and what further plans would be like. We put about 500 to 600 UN Protection Force soldiers under our control. There were happy, of course. They were happy among the Serbs.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Do you insist that they were happy?

[Karadzic] They were absolutely happy. They were treated like soldiers. Our soldiers treated their fellow-soldiers in a very dignified and warm way and they had nothing to worry about. Those who were blocked in the field also knew that the Serbs would not do them any harm. They got food and they were treated like guests. Putting them under our control was a matter of principle, however; the UN had to know that it took the risk of starting a war against us if it ordered NATO to shoot at us. We decided to put UN soldiers under control and we carried out this action. We proved that we could control everything. When Akashi came later on and when we received the confirmation that NATO would either not fly any more, or that it would fly only very high for reconnaissance purposes and never low for combat purposes, we started to normalize our relations with the UN Protection Force. I think that our relations will soon be normal.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Does this mean that there are no UN Protection Force soldiers under your control any longer?

[Karadzic] They are all close to us. We let all convoys pass, and the soldiers situated at various places in the field are all close to us. We can put them under our control within 15 minutes, this is not a problem for us.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Some drastic options are discussed as possible solutions to this problem: that the UN Protection Force withdraws, that NATO does not intervene, that they help the Bosnian Muslims as much as they can and that they leave you on the scene alone with Alija Izetbegovic.

[Karadzic] This would have big consequences for the humanitarian aid. The Muslim enclaves and the Muslim population would suffer. Furthermore, the Muslim army would not be defeated [sentence as published]. If the UN Protection Force had not been here—we have to be clear about it—the Muslim army would have been defeated a long time ago. The whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina would perhaps be ours, but, of course, together with the Muslims. It means that it would be ours and theirs, we would share it, and the war would not have been necessary, because no new states would have been created. We could have returned such a Bosnia to Yugoslavia, but there would have certainly been more casualties, since it is clear that the UN Protection Force was here with the aim to save the Muslims, to try to prevent the Serbian victory or at least to prolong it.

Although we are accused of behaving like this in order to force the UN Protection Force to withdraw, I would like to point out that this is not our wish; we think that this would do much harm. If we are going toward peace, we need the UN Protection Force here, in order to be placed between us. If the UN Protection Force leaves, this will harm the Muslims. The UN Protection Force says itself that the Serbs would in that case immediately take the eastern enclaves, and we would really do this immediately. This would enable us to free almost 20,000 soldiers. When we complete [the operation in] the Bihac pocket, we shall have liberated 20,000 soldiers. With these new soldiers we could split Bosnia into 10 enclaves and take all key directions and key points, as well as force the Muslims to accept our conditions since they would be totally defeated.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] It seems that you have hoped that this war would end in a draw.

[Karadzic] It seems that wars seldom end with a draw, although we might have the good will. It happens for the first time that a victorious army does not want a complete defeat of its enemy. A complete defeat of the Muslims would be our Pyhrric victory because they would stay with us in that case. We would have a new war in five years' time over the problem of who would be dominant in such a Bosnia. Therefore our Assembly decided that it was our first strategic aim to get separated because we have been antagonistic for centuries. We cannot live together unless one of us is dominant. The Muslims are afraid of a smaller Yugoslavia because it is predominantly Serbian, and the Serbs are afraid of an independent Bosnia because it is predominantly Muslim. Ours and Muslim fears are of the same origin. They should realize this. We understand that they do not want Yugoslavia, and they should understand that we do not want their Bosnia. If peace cannot be achieved by political means, we have to win the war. In other words, if there is a military outcome, somebody has to be defeated. And we know that the Muslims do not support political solutions unless the United States forces them to accept them. A temporary adoption of any kind of plan is therefore a catastrophe. This means that we would give the Muslims certain territories "free of charge," which would enable them to resume the war from a much better starting position.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Do you think that you have made certain political mistakes so far and are you ready to admit them?

[Karadzic] My friends often exert pressure on me, claiming that the Serbian Republic is led "by a soft hand." I think, however, that this is not a mistake; on the contrary, the Serbs are a people that cannot be led by a firm hand. Even the opposition in the Srpska republic

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assembly feels quite well, it is respected, it participates in the work of the assembly and its proposals are respected and influence our decisions. My friends often tell me: "They work on their own. What is the state security doing?" We did not want the police to become strong. The police did not want it, either. We have compensated with freedom for the discipline we have lost. We had extreme discipline in the army before a state of war was proclaimed; new laws on the direct danger of war were adopted. We probably made some mistakes in this field. At the beginning of the war we made many mistakes from the point of view of economy. We sold our commodities outside our republic at extremely moderate prices. The only consolation is that they were sent to Serbia. The Serbs have them at least, but we lost much money in this way.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Were these commodities not stolen?

[Karadzic] They were not stolen very much by individuals. It was we who made the mistake because we did not have any control mechanisms. We should have established the customs and the border police and many other institutions which the state did not have. We started establishing our state on a meadow. We made many mistakes. We competed with other Srpska republic companies on the Serbian market, so that the prices for our products plummeted; cattle, wood, production materials went to Serbia at very low prices.

The only consolation is that they are in Serbia. We made many mistakes here.

I do not think, however, that we have made mistakes in the creation of the state in general. We have succeeded in keeping the unity of the people, the unity of Chetniks and partisans. We have preserved democracy and the feeling of personal and national freedom—I do not think that we have made mistakes here. On the contrary, of all the Serbs, we have achieved the most. When our brothers from Serbia come, the first thing they see in our people, no matter whether it is a soldier, a disabled person, or a person fighting with poverty, is the feeling of optimism, of cheerfulness.

Our brothers ask: "Where do you have this cheerfulness from?" We are cheerful because we have been completely destroyed and are recovering now. We do not make mistakes in this process, there is no ideological digression or splits.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] You are reproached for not having established a constitutional state.

[Karadzic] I usually say that our state is more constitutional than it is a state because attorneys-at-law have won almost every case against the state. This means that our attorney general and our ministry of internal affairs are not successful in finding a case in which we could win as a state. It is very lucrative to be an attorney in the Srpska republic today. This business is flourishing. Attorneys earn much money and are very successful since we, as a state, have failed as a rival so far, but we do not want to suspend this right of contesting the state by force. This means that we are a constitutional state, we are more constitutional than we are a state, but I am also proud of this. It seems to me that we have not made a single mistake in this respect, although our liberation movement would probably be more efficient if we led our state with "a firm hand." The question would arise, however, how many of our people would lose the enthusiasm for our state and how many new rifts would appear in that case. We have created a state, but we have not shot anybody. We hope not to be forced to shoot anybody. Not even for the violation of military discipline. This is very important. We have achieved our results with the enthusiasm of our people and with their political will, with their intention to create a state and liberate themselves, and not with discipline.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Do you dare predict when all this will be over?

[Karadzic] I hope that the war will end in the next six months. I hope so, because the world is leading itself in a very dangerous situation. Unless a third world war is being prepared, this war will end in six months. This is my prediction. If, however, a large-scale, a world war, or considerable strategic restructuring is being planned, the war will not end soon. It will be kept in reserve, it will sometimes be of low and sometimes of high intensity, until the time comes when not only the Balkans but the whole of Europe can be restructured. In other words, if the world does not want a third world war, it will try to complete this one. After that we shall start with new symbols.

Mr. Djoren, our designer, has already made some proposals for the symbols of the Srpska republic, some of them are in use already. He is very enthusiastic and very talented; he has elaborated the new symbols based on the old Serbian symbols.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] How do you see the Serbian public life? Apart from the Orthodox Church, also the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia], the DS [Democratic Party], the Radical Party and the Liberal Party support you, but the dominant scene does not have the courage to admit that it was wrong and to support you publicly.

[Karadzic] There are many people in the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] who like us, although we have never had special relations with that party. Our relations have always been at the level of the presidents of the two republics, that is at the level of my or my assistants' contacts with President Milosevic. We also know very well that there are many people in the SPS who are very Serbian-oriented, who support the national program. There are leftists, too, who are not national. The Serbian leftist movement always ends with underestimating Serbian national programs and interests. This is not the case with the French leftist movement. This is neither the case with the Greek leftist movement. As far as the

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Church is concerned, we think that the Serbian nation is unimaginable without the Church, we do not think that Serbia would have survived without the Church, the Church saved our people. Orthodox Christianity is an important attribute of the Serbian nation. We think that we are very similar to Greece. Greece suffers because of Orthodoxy, but it defends itself with Orthodoxy, too. The Balkans in general, but let us take the example of the Serbs who live west of the Drina River—we have suffered not because we are beautiful or ugly, because we are tall or small, not because we are grumpy, but because we are Orthodox. Orthodoxy is the source of our difficulties, but if we suffer because of Orthodoxy, we have to defend ourselves with it, too.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] How many people can you count on for the defense of the Srpska republic?

[Karadzic] More than 95 percent of the people are religious, this is not the question. Over 95 percent of our soldiers are religious. Many of our officers have returned to their roots. They were baptized as children. We think that the representatives of educational institutions and the Church must always have a place in the first row at every manifestation. Whenever this was the case, beginning with the Emperor Dusan, the Serbian people were happy.

The neglect of the Church is tragic. There are people who accuse us of being a clerical state. This is not true! Our Church does not interfere with our tasks, but we want to hear the voice of the Church. There are wise men in the Church. The head of our Church and the bishops are glorious. If you spend an hour or two with them, you feel that you have enriched your knowledge. They incorporate the centuries-old wisdom and add to it their personal abilities and experience.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] Is this a sort of therapy for you although you are a psychiatrist?

[Karadzic] A man is the best therapy for another man. It is a great pleasure for us when we meet people from the Church. They influence the spiritual calmness and harmony. Apart from that, we can ask their advice in some important matters.

I also ask my children for advice. The other day my son Sasa made certain things clear to me. I asked myself why NATO did not want to admit the massive bombardment it performed on 25 November, which was completely unnecessary because the NATO aircraft shelled even the area in the vicinity of Petrovac, close to Drvar, on several occasions. Rose does not want to admit this, NATO does not want to admit this. I thought that they might be afraid of an echo. My son told me, however, it might have been Croatia, or Turkey that shelled, without the knowledge of the United Nations. You see, we even ask our children, it is only natural that we ask our wise men from the Church for advice when important decisions have to be taken. We must not rely on the intellect of an individual, not even on the intellect of the supreme leadership. We have to use the intellect of all people in order to make decisions for our future, and the Church is in our nation represented with a large portion of intellect.

[Petrovic-Pirocanac] During the last months there has not been much courage in Serbia to give full information on the Srpska republic.

[Karadzic] We have always had to maintain contacts with the Serbian authorities. These contacts were a great pleasure during a certain period of time. They were maintained through the presidents and some of the prime ministers. We did not want to interfere with the political life and make the situation difficult for them.... We have had good relations with the opposition, too.

The Serbs do not like fear. It is not good if the Serbs are afraid, because they are afraid for a certain time and then they become hostile and dangerous. As David Strbac [figure from Yugoslav literature] says: "When I step on the scale, I am small, but when a Serb grows in me, there is no scale anywhere which could measure me."

Serbia is Serbia, the Citizens' Alliance is also Serbia. We do not oppose the existence of any party. We only do not want to accept their attitudes and programs. We think that they got what they deserved. If the SK PJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia] had gotten as many seats in parliament as it has roots among the people, it would not have obtained a single one.

Elections are the measure for everything, but I do not think that the Serbian Television should have been abolished. What will, for example, happen if we improve our relations with Milosevic?

### Izetbegovic Addresses Bosnian Assembly

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[Speech by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, at Bosnia-Herzegovina assembly session held in Zenica Municipal Assembly building—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] Thank you, Mr. President [addressing president of Bosnian assembly]. I apologize for the slight delay which happened [words indistinct].

Mr. President, assembly, delegates, respected guest, and dear friends, allow me to greet you all and to wish you success in your work. I am today expected to spell out a number of facts about the current military and political situation in our country. I have just come back from a trip to distant Morocco, where I witnessed yet another manifestation of solidarity with Bosnia-Herzegovina and its struggle for freedom. In this struggle we are not and will never be alone. Nevertheless, of crucial importance for the fate of our country will be that which we do inside the country, in other words that which we can, want, and know how to do.

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As for the general situation, it can be described as difficult but not as bad. The situation is difficult, despite the fact that we are stronger than ever before. Namely, a number of things has happened recently which have been negative for us: the difficult military situation in the Bihac region has been used to put political pressure on our country. The offensive against the 5th Corps has been accompanied by a political offensive against our positions. This offensive, although less apparent, is no les intense. When, in July this year we accepted the plan by the five-country Contact Group, we also outlined the point in our policy below which we cannot go. The latest military offensive, organized to coincide with the international political offensive, is designed to move this threshold. We are successfully coping with both of these pressures. I think it is now clear to both the Chetniks of Bihac and various centers of power which organized a flood of visits and numerous initiatives, mainly detrimental to us, that we have endured the pressure and survived.

This is a concise, general assessment of the current military-political situation in the country. Since the politicial situation depends on the military state of affairs rather than the other way round, I shall begin by first outlining the situation on the fronts.

The main feature of the military situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning of the war is that the front lines are too stretched. The length of the frontline or frontlines varies between 1,200 and 1,300 kms and is slightly shorter than the eastern front in World War II or in the recent Iran-Iraq war. The length of the front line creates numerous problems. Our only consolation is that the other side is faced with the same problems. Our other military problems are different from the opponent's: we have better people, they have better equipment; our morale is better, but their logistics are better. These circumstances are crucial for our combat tactics, which consists of inflicting hundreds of small-scale blows on the enemy along the entire frontline. Since we do not have not enough heavy weaponry—especially artillery—a strategic turnabout on the battefield remains impossible. Our goal at the moment is to force the enemy to accept peace. Since the consistent objective of the enemy's war has been to destroy Bosnia as a state, and the Bosniak people as (?the essence) of that state, our aim is to force the enemy to give up its genocidal plan. [Words indistinct] our aim is peace. This is our aim, because of us and because of Bosnia. Because of us—well, our people need peace; because of Bosnia—well, the war is destroying what Bosnia is and what we want it to be. Peace can save it. While we are striving for peace, the enemy, because of the nature of its goals, strives for war and is doing everything to prolong it. The aggressor has been deceiving his own people and the world public when he says that the reason for not accepting the peace plan is the maps on offer.

The truth is, however, that the enemy cannot accept peace because peace means the beginning of the end of the genocidal plan and the beginning of accepting responsibility for the committed crimes. This is why it is realistic to expect that the enemy will continue coming up with new reasons to thwart each peace initiative and to prolong the war forever.

Of course, the fact that the notorious initiators of the aggression and genocide will wrap themselves in a cloak of peace and talk about peace in order to deceive the credulous and those who want to be deceived will not change anything. As you know, a farce of that kind is being prepared right now.

The battle for Bihac is being waged. It is no ordinary battle. The soldiers know it and the rest of us, the average man, we feel it. Many things are being tried out and dealt with in a relatively small area in and around Bihac. This explains the desperate struggle, which has entered its seventh week. Thank God, we have managed to defend all our strategic positions. Of course, it will never be explained why Croatia has not actively and resolutely interfered in something that is of great importance for it. Too much calculating and caution have caused many defeats. We have invited Croatia to help, because of us and because of itself. It is not yet too late to right a possible historic mistake. I am assuring you that we will do everything we can for Bihac—both in military and political terms. Of course, it is always possible to do more or better. I expect to hear here today new proposals about what else can be done.

I would like to take this opportunity to ask you to reward the brave soldiers and officers of the 5th Corps with applause. [applause] With God's help, they will manage to continue.

Let me now voice a few views on the basic political issues. The Serbian side [words indistinct] the Contact Group's peace plan. When and if it accepts the plan, we can hold talks on everything; before that on nothing. I believe that talks on a political solution...[Pauses] Of course, talks and perhaps even agreements on humanitarian issues and a cease-fire are possible if the other side is interested in this and under reasonable conditions. The issue of lifting some sanctions against Serbia came, we believe, too early. The Serbian and Montenegrin border with Bosnia-Herzegovina is obviously not closed. All objective observers agree on this. This is also confirmed by the Chetnik offensive against the Bihac region, which would not be possible without Serbia's (?logistical) support. We therefore oppose any further lifting of the sanctions until [Srpska republic president Radovan] Karadzic's Serbs accept the peace plan, and until Serbia recognizes Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

It was with regret that we have established that Russia is almost openly siding with the aggressors on Bosnia-Herzegovina. We would like to ask the British Government whether it is sure that the British public approves of legalizing an entity in the Balkans which has no knowledge of the concept of human rights, which has been based on genocide and ethnic cleansing, and which

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has acquired arrogance and violence as the only rule of behavior toward people at home and toward foreigners. We have noticed and we welcome the changes in France's stances on Bosnia-Herzegovina. We would also like to ask America and Germany to finally define their policy on Bosnia and stick to it.

As far as the Islamic world is concerned, we expect them to fulfil the promise from the declaration adopted yesterday on Bosnia.

We still need UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. We will be happy when the day comes when we can thank them and ask them to leave. Until then, we expect its senior officials to act in line with UN Security Council resolutions, and not their governments' political directives. We call on our people to treat the UN soldiers fairly, because most of them are doing their duty as they should.

The Federation of Bosniaks and Croats is our aim and our path. It is our aim, because in it we see our partially fulfilled dream of an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is our path, because in it we see a way to continue and complete the integration. The problems of implementing the federal constitution obviously stem from different views of the basic issue of the survival of the state as our people's highest interest. Our common friends in the world, who have in all honesty and commitment placed themselves behind this plan, ask us what the difficulties are. Our answer is that the formulation of the federation is in the final instance a problem of democracy, because it is that. The character of the authorities in the areas controlled by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], which accepts only one nation, one religion, and one party, is at odds with the very concept of a federation and its constitution. Only democracy can solve this problem, otherwise we will be going around in circles and looking for problems where there are none. The democratic evolution in the aforementioned area is in the interest of the Croatian nation and the Republic of Croatia, and they should encourage and support it.

However, I would like to stress that, despite all the difficulties, the Washington agreement has played a historic role. Even if its only merit was to have stopped the unfortunate war between Bosniaks and Croats, it was worth all the efforts that went into it. In fact, it also opened up many other possibilities which (?have not been used yet), but have not been lost yet, either.

Our stance on the arms embargo remains unchanged. If the Serbs do not accept the Contact Group's peace plan, the arms embargo should be lifted with a six-month grace period, by 30 June 1995 at the latest.

I should on this occasion comment—if only in the briefest of terms—on what we have managed to achieve and in which aspects we have failed. Have we made a serious mistake in this complete global chaos? Could we have done something much better? This question can be answered with certainty only after a certain period of time. Of course, you as deputies have the right to judge this today as well, and your opinion will be listened to with due attention.

I think we have managed to achieve at least two very important things: We have managed to organize resistance, create—under war conditions—an army of 200,000 soldiers, and to establish and defend the democratic character of the authorities. We have also managed to keep the world's attention on Bosnia and thus make the aggressor's work more difficult. Bosnia has not succumbed in silence, as many predicted. Our resistance is roaring along a very long frontline and, if we remember the millions of shells fired at our positions, we can say that the roar of our resistance resounds literally to the skies.

On the other hand, we have not managed to provide a stable source of financing for some important social needs, such as health services, education, judiciary, pensions, and other things. We have also failed to make significant progress on the refugee issue.

Someone has justly said that a world war is going on in Bosnia, obviously referring to the fact that all the important world powers are involved on our visible and invisible fronts. The maximum of history is being enacted on a minimum of space here. In such circumstances, passing through an exceptionally turbulent period of the world's history, in which (?quite) powerful empires are disappearing and quite stable international institutions are falling apart, we are trying to take our country to a quiet harbor, hoping that (?the anchor will hold), and that the storm will die down.

In conclusion, I must say a few words about freedom. Our final aim is for Bosnia, regardless of what else it may become, to be a country in which no one will be persecuted because of their religion, nationality, or political views. I have been repeating these words almost literally, but you must understand that, because of the things that are happening around us, both to the left and to the right, these words are a practical expression of our devotion to a principle of the highest order—the principle of freedom. And freedom is what gives meaning to our lives, what makes our lives bearable, and what throws a gentle light on our difficult and agonizing struggle. Thank you. [applause]

## RS Deputy Reveals Talks With Milosevic

*AU1812172594 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 94 p 2*

[Report by M. Maric: "What Did Milosevic Say to Us?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka—Since the contents of the talks that took place between Milosevic and a delegation of deputies of the Srpska republic [RS] assembly [on 5 December] are still interpreted differently, Milan Trbojevic, one of the Serbian president's guests, explained in GLAS SRPSKI what Milosevic told them:

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Concretely, President Milosevic demanded that the [Contact Group] plan should once more be reviewed by our Assembly; of course, once the plan is put on paper, therefore, black on white, so to speak. Milosevic has assessed that the plan has been essentially adjusted by authentic interpretation and the harmonization of positions of all crucial participants in the negotiating process.

Trbojevic goes on to explain that Slobodan Milosevic said that the issue of guarantees for the Srpska republic as regards the constitutional solution to confederal links with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] is no longer controversial.

Concretely, we were requested to define our position so as to allow us to accept the plan, providing that it is not implemented until the issue of a constitutional solution is completely defined. Therefore, until such a time when our status, our link, and our position in relation to the FRY are solved. Furthermore, until such a time when the exchange of controversial territories is completed, during which international factors would sponsor the negotiating process. Therefore, the exchange of territories would be organized under their sponsorship, Trbojevic says.

For us, he continues, there would be no risks involved. According to Milosevic, this would result from the coordinated position of all participants in the negotiating process that each side in the conflict should retain the demarcation lines while the negotiations are in progress.

According to President Milosevic, says Trbojevic, it is essential that we once more rejoin the peace process, which for us does not constitute a risk, since we will retain the lines we now hold. President Milosevic also warned us that our failure to rejoin the negotiating process would most probably result in an escalation of the fighting, since the Islamic countries have already announced that they are ready to join in the conflict militarily, and are collecting funds for this purpose.

## DUGA Editor on Pale, Talks With Karadzic

*95BA0068A Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Nov 94 pp 18-21*

[Article by Dragos Kalajic, DUGA editor: "The Serbs Against the Whole World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] To reach the office of the president of the Srpska republic in Pale, one first enters a room about 18 square meters in area that is a picturesque combination of reception room, guardroom, bar, and waiting room. No one stopped or searched me, which evoked curious ("Now who might this guy be!") and resentful ("He's going in out of turn!") looks from the foreign intelligence types or media reporters with Anglo-Saxon faces and Japanese equipment. Fatigue with this shabby life and an alcoholic fog could be seen in their looks. I can easily imagine how they might report or guess the wishes of their employers. (And in fact, I would later read in their reports that in Pale there is supposedly "an atmosphere of unreality, fear, and antagonism," "the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs seems uncertain and confused," "possessed by a sense of collective paranoia," and "decisionmaking has been paralyzed by internal conflicts." All of this malicious catastrophism is based solely and exclusively on the fact of the temporary withdrawal of the Serbian forces from what amounts to barely 1 percent of the area of the ruins of Bosnia-Herzegovina.)

Had I been in a better mood, I would have given the intelligence agents there the study by Dr. Daniel Pipes, director of the Foreign Affairs Institute in the United States, which was commissioned by the CIA and entitled "How to Turn Conspiracy Theories to One's Advantage," published by the Student Culture Center in Belgrade in an anthology entitled Sve sfere zavere (All the Spheres of Conspiracy). In that study Dr. Daniel Pipes cautions intelligence agents and reporters that their lies cut both ways: "Always bear in mind that what is published in (our) media under complete control (later under indirect control) in some almost magical way, like it or not, has a backlash effect even on those controlling it.... You therefore have great responsibility. You must not allow your own government to be lulled by your selective reports."

Anyway, I had only one copy of that book, and I intended that one for Radovan Karadzic, along with a copy of the 2nd edition of Americko zlo (The American Evil) and Tajna Balkana (The Secret of the Balkans), a kind of textbook on the geopolitical factors of the "chains holding up the world." I found him more cheerful, more energetic, and stronger than ever before, and I could not resist the pleasure of making these observations aloud. Mrs. Karadzic, who happened to be there, made a joke in which there was some truth, attributing this to her urging her husband to curtail somewhat his proverbial hospitality. Radovan Karadzic has many friends, and almost every one of them is convinced that he is the only one and that his ideas deserve attention until dawn, or at least until midnight.

As I was inscribing the books, I noticed on the table where we sat a great number of maps, among which my attention was drawn to plans for construction of Serbian Sarajevo. Anyone who knows anything about geopoolitics is well aware how important Serbian Sarajevo is to the Srpska republic: This is the center that links Herzegovina to the northern regions and prevents dispersal to other centers of gravity. I noticed that the maps of the Contact Group were missing, and I expressed out loud the assumption that they now belong to the past and are already archived. Karadzic confirmed this conclusion:

"If by some misfortune we had accepted the plan of the Contact Group, we first would have had to accept its implementation. So, we would have had to withdraw to new lines and new positions that are strategically and tactically very unfavorable, positions from which the

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Muslims, with the help of NATO forces, could defeat us very easily in the next war, which they could instigate immediately or after a few months.... Those are not internationally recognized borders, but only internationally 'guaranteed' borders. Even now we can see how much those 'guarantees' are worth, when the Muslims are initiating their offensives from inside zones which are under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] protection. For that matter, we saw how much those 'guarantees' were worth in the example of Yugoslavia, which even had internationally recognized borders, and yet the 'international community' permitted and encouraged its demolition."

It is not hard for me to imagine the Washington scenario of the Serbian disaster that would follow this "implementation" of the plan of the Contact Group, but I wanted to hear it from Radovan Karadzic. In answering the question, he described the Washington plot with the cheerfulness of someone who has spotted a hazard and avoided it:

"If we were to draw back to new lines of demarcation, immense forces of NATO would immediately occupy the Sava and Drina valleys, and Serbia would face new pressures to swallow new ultimatums and decrees. With such large NATO forces on its borders, Serbia would no longer be in a position to resist any ultimatum or blackmail. The presence of U.S. soldiers here—legitimized by our signature on the plan of the Contact Group—would be sufficient reason for any type of intervention. We have learned quite well the lessons of recent history: If it is unable to proclaim something to be in its national interest, the U.S. sends a hundred or so men where they want to achieve certain political, economic, or strategic objectives, and then the State Department simply declares that it is in the national interest of the U.S. to defend those Americans. It is even capable of staging an attack on itself in order to obtain a casus belli.... That would have been a disastrous mistake, and we would have done a profound disservice to Serbian history, since our signature on the plan of the Contact Group would have legitimized American occupation of Serbian land."

**Serbia Proper—A Refugee Camp**

As if he had guessed what I was thinking, Karadzic translated that mental picture into words:

"The most horrifying thing in the projection of the consequences of acceptance of the Contact Group's plan is the exodus of 300,000 to 400,000 Serbs from regions which it calls for surrendering to our enemies. These are not only the Serbs who lived there before this war, but also Serbian refugees from central Bosnia who fled from the Islamic terror. It should be realized that no one would remain under Muslim authority, without any kind of protection, since even those who are putting up with it today are held there by force, as hostages and victims of terror. The refugees would have had to seek new places to settle in the chaos and confusion. Nothing would of course come of defense of the new line, since a fighter fights best where he has his wife and children.... Beyond that, even if we managed to overcome and survive all that, we would have gone from a relatively connected state to a string of poorly connected, weak, indefensible, and devastated enclaves. We could not have established even elementary economic life, much less a sound defense. We would have been completely dependent on the 'international community.' That would have meant total eradication and suffocation, a national tragedy and disaster. And it is not difficult to imagine that that would be only the beginning of a collective exodus of Serbs towards Serbia. Everything west of Brcko would have been seized by a great fright, locked up in an enclave like Nagorno-Karabakh. The Serbs would have wanted to break out and secure a connection with the Serbian part and with Serbia, and actually all would be moving more or less rapidly toward Serbia."

For all the good will and analytical effort, I could not manage to learn the destiny of the Serbian corridor near Brcko, and I asked for an explanation from the most responsible person among the Serbs, who offered it to me with the smile that a bad joke on common sense deserves:

"That would actually be a little path riddled by fire from both sides, where no one would settle down to live, so that we would have to keep large forces there to secure any kind of traffic between the western and eastern parts. In Brcko we would have to crawl under the Muslim bridge or use the bridge to cross Muslim territory. At that point we would be killed not only by snipers, but even by ordinary firecrackers. Knowing how the Muslims behave in the Near East, in Jerusalem, and other places where they are in contact with the Jews—it is clear to us that there would be constant hemorrhaging there and a situation in which Serb patience would give out before that of the Muslims. And all the Serbs would move to Serbia."

I reminded Karadzic that a few months before I had seen in his office an interesting map that originated in the laboratories of the Washington strategists of the European misfortune. On the map, which was a projection of the Yugoslavia they desired, there was a striking concentration of all the refugee camps on the space of Serbia proper, that is, the "Belgrade Pashaluk." I did not at that time ask Karadzic how he came by that map, since certain foreigners were also there in his office. His permanent smile became that of a jester:

"At the very outset of the crisis we managed to simply steal that map of future refugee settlements from the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. You correctly noted that all the refugee settlements are located in Serbia proper on that map of Yugoslavia. Our people were very confused and wondered why Serbia proper had been chosen to become a large refugee camp. Through our own analyses and in conversations with officials of the office of the High Commissioner for

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Refugees, we realized and learned that the authors of that map envisaged or planned unrest and rebellions in Kosovo and Metohija, in Raska, and in Vojvodina. That is, they expect that as their project is carried out, and it is being imposed by the sanctions, rivers of Serbs from all regions of the Serbian homeland would flow toward Serbia proper, where the office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was supposed to build refuges...."

A shadow of sadness darkened his smile:

"With our fight we have postponed, and probably buried for all time, those plans for destroying Serbia and driving the Serbs onto the reservation of what was once the 'Belgrade Pashaluk.' We know that, and we feel that we have been honorably performing our duty of defending Serbia and the Serbian people as a whole.... I would like to add that since April we have not launched any significant counteroffensives. We have been sustaining blows over almost 2,000 kilometers of front, we have been repelling a large Muslim offensive, since we do not want anyone in Serbia to proclaim us aggressors who want someone else's territory. We are ready even now to buy peace with sizeable territory, but we are not ready to give up for peace important and crucial territories without which our state cannot survive. If we were to give in here, our enemies would fall upon Serbia from outside and from within. We are keeping this war outside Serbia, but actually it was intended for Serbia. I want Serbia to avoid any kind of disorder, much less war. That is why we are recommending that all our friends refrain from holding any rallies in Serbia to support our struggle and express it instead through humanitarian packages and drugs for this suffering segment of the Serbian people."

**Germany—The Historical Victor**

Placing a high value on the precious time of the president of the Srpska republic, I stood up to say goodbye, but his heavy and friendly hand kept me near the table. I added that my highest intellectual services are contained in the book Americko Zlo and in the essay "For a Serbian Geopolitics," published in the anthology Tajna Balkana, which I recommended that he read, since it sets out the essential meaning of the fight of the Atlantic Leviathan against Europe and Europeans. Karadzic also detained me with intellectual teasing:

"Nevertheless, you have to admit that Germany's primary and genuine reason for destroying Yugoslavia was that it wanted to reverse the outcome of World War II."

Since I have a reputation as a Germanophile, I have to correct him, setting against his theory the more rational reason for Germany's persistent hostility towards Yugoslavia:

"Everything I have learned and numerous documents persuade me that the Atlantic allies constructed Yugoslavia in 1918 to serve them as a fortress preventing penetration of German political and economic force toward the Near East, that is, toward the geopolitical nexus and the largest cache of oil, at one time under British, but today under American, hegemony. That age-old aspiration of Germany to oppose blackmailing monopoly of the British and now American pseudo-empire should be seen as the rational reason for its support of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, that is, to the secessions. I think that the Serbs were blind and stupid in serving the Allies, who thrust them into cemeteries and in the end cynically deceived them, and instead they should have let the Germans pass and collected custom duties and highway tolls."

On page 106 of Tajna Balkana I quote an observation by Professor Gianfranco Migle, today the most influential and prestigious political scientist in Europe:

"The U.S. has realized that if it does not want to experience the same ruination as the USSR, it must attack its future adversaries: Japan and the European Union, which will be centered on German economic might. The U.S. cannot tolerate Europe the way it is today, a Europe that has already become a force, although it is not making great efforts to be that, and is already surpassing it in the economic and technological domains. Realizing that the day will soon come when they will no longer have anything to say to Europe, the Americans have staked all their hopes on the Near East, on a domination which can be implemented through the sources of Arabian oil, since Germany and Japan will depend on them for decades." His face alight with the satisfaction gained from pleasant debates of the large magnitudes of the world arena, Karadzic replied:

"Yes, but you have to agree that Germany has indeed finally gained the victory and reversed the outcome of World War II. All the countries which it conquered as it thrust to the east in WWII are today under its influence or hegemony. All those countries are today in what we might call a scramble to become unofficial provinces of Germany. Incidentally, I myself have frequently wondered why the U.S. consented to the destruction of Yugoslavia, although at the outset their statesmen issued official declarations and promises of protection. I finally realized—and I have been given certain evidence in this regard—that the U.S. has a need to destroy Yugoslavia because of a number of its own interests, not least of which is its interest in the arms industry. It had to break up the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], which was manufacturing very good and inexpensive weapons, which were offering keen competition to American weapons on the markets of the Third World. We now see that the U.S. is also putting pressure on Russia not to meet its obligations to deliver arms to Third World countries, from which it has had annual earnings between $17 and 20 billion...."

I added that the essential objectives of Washington's warmongering strategy are incomparably more lucrative than that. I felt in my soul a metaphysical gladness in realizing the power of the human element, personified by

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the Serbian liberation struggle, to resist all the power of demonic economics and overcome all the might of capital. This is a struggle which is today defending even Europe, as has been rightly noted by the most farsighted and alert European minds, such as Dimitry Kicikis, professor at the University of Ottawa, where he holds the chair of geopolitics and international relations: "At some point, if it survives this historical and civilizational trap it fell into long ago, Europe will have to apologize to the Serbs and thank them for the strong initial resistance in the phase when it really is hardest, when only the truly great peoples go into action and set a valuable example for the others."

Karadzic is able to quickly spot the essential objectives of Washington's warmongering policy:

"The essential cause of our tragedy is that the U.S. found Yugoslavia's disintegration to be an ideal means of shaking Europe at this point. The Washington strategists even designed the plan of the Contact Group so that the Serbs would have to reject it. They wanted to be certain that the Serbs would reject it, since they do not want peace here, but permanent war, in order to shake up Europe and keep it in a kind of political fever. One of their objectives is to prove that Europe cannot get along without the U.S., nor without NATO. After all, united Europe is threatening to make the U.S. superfluous in Europe, which the French have already been saying, and Germany of course would like to say it, but is wisely keeping silent. So, the ubiquitous American presence in Europe is threatened by the process of Europe's unification and by the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact, and NATO has lost its legitimate raison d'etre and its task. So, new reasons have to be found for the presence of the U.S. hegemony in Europe and for NATO."

"How do you see the role of Germany in that Washington Strategy?"

"The U.S. is offering only apparent support to Germany, which puts the other European states in a degrading second-rank and third-rank position. Even U.S. President Clinton humiliated them publicly by praising Germany as its first partner and pointing out that it will be and will remain dominant in Europe. Clinton has publicly said what the other European countries do not want to hear—that Germany should have the leading role...."

"...So that the other European countries would cry for help from the U.S. when confronted by a dangerous Germany?"

"Of course, so that they would all turn to the U.S. for help in the near or distant future. For other reasons the U.S. is also supporting Turkey as a regional force and is trying to align and link up the interests of Turkey and Germany in order to put Russia and its potential allies, allies it does not have now, in a threatening semi-encirclement.... Beyond that, we can also expect a restationing of NATO in the Muslim-Croatian part of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as in Macedonia, since Germany is denying the American soldiers hospitality, as it has already denied it to the Russians. Unless NATO finds a new reason for the existence of a new base at least in formal terms, the interests of the U.S. in Europe will be greatly threatened, especially because many European states have been trying to create European defense forces apart from NATO. And here we come back again to the interests of the American arms industry: It is certain that those European defense forces will be armed from European rather than American industries. All in all, the entire game is whether, in what form, and how long the interests of the U.S. in Europe and the influence of the U.S. on Europe will be preserved."

**Why Gorazde Is Important**

I expressed the hope that a Serbian victory over the tools of Washington's anti-European strategy would also mark the beginning of the end of American hegemony over Europe, and I raised for discussion the issue the Washington project of an 'Islamic transverse,' that is, a beachhead for the penetration of Turkish hegemony and Islamic masses into the heart of Europe. I am convinced that the fall of Muslim Gorazde would bury all the hopes of Europe's enemy placed on the 'Islamic transverse.' Karadzic agreed:

"That is absolutely right, but unfortunately our brothers in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] seem not to understand this. And when they tell us to first sign the map of the Contact Group and then we will reach an agreement with Izetbegovic about exchanging the eastern Muslim enclaves for their departure from Sarajevo—they are wrong, since they do not know or do not understand what we are talking about. It is perfectly clear to anyone who understands this that for historical reasons, political reasons, and indeed psychological reasons, Izetbegovic will not give up anything on the Drina unless he has to. After all, by giving up such enclaves near the Drina the Muslims lose all prospects of linking up the Islamic territories in this part of the world—via Raska, Kosovo and Metohija, and Albania, to Turkey. Izetbegovic will never give up those enclaves voluntarily. We have to force him to the exchange in order to separate Islam in central Bosnia from Raska once and for all. From the historical, political, and every other point of view, this must be a paramount interest and objective of the Serbian people, if the Serbs want to survive."

Since the 'Islamic transverse' is urgently necessary to Washington in order to destroy Europe and dilute the Europeans with waves of Islamic immigrants, we can expect the Washington strategists to persist in this policy of destabilization of the Balkans and to set new brushfire wars."

"Yes. Another part of that strategy is to maintain an unstable apparent equilibrium between Greece and Turkey, which is an American vassal state. but the U.S. has opened up too many fronts in the world, and its pressure will not last long, at least not with this intensity.

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And then the Washington strategists also have great dilemmas in choosing between the orientation towards Asia and the orientation towards Europe. It will probably lose Asia, since Japan will reach China first, not with military force, but with money and technology. That marriage is certain, and it is already displacing the U.S. from the Far East. At the same time, Europe is uniting and will certainly frustrate the U.S. with various protective measures and will push it out of European markets. We can anticipate, then, that the Washington strategists will shift the emphasis in their actions towards Europe, since Europe's market is not only very rich and powerful, but also capable of reacting very quickly to what is happening in the world. And the U.S. will therefore try with all its strength to remain here with its interests, but its strength is flagging with every passing day."

I noted that the proof of that flagging lies in the hysterical insistence on the part of the Washington emissaries that the Serbs be forced to sign the Contact Group maps, which could serve no purpose but Serbian national suicide. Nevertheless, from a wounded Beast we can expect mindless attacks motivated by pure hatred, without any sort of rational purpose. Is the army of the Srpska republic prepared to face such challenges, for example, the unlimited use of NATO bombers by the Washington strategists of war against Europe? Karadzic was quick to reply and took no time to think it over, as though he had long ago decided what should be done:

"What NATO is now requesting of the UN is actually to carry out the promise which the American administration made to Izetbegovic. It is a question of returning the favor to Izetbegovic, who requested a postponement of removal of the embargo on arms to the Muslims. Izetbegovic helped the American administration to extricate itself from the promise that set the deadline of 15 October and November. NATO, which is under de facto American management, wants to be independent here and to influence the outcome of the war with strikes against vital Serbian centers. In that case NATO would be a party to the conflict formally and de jure, not just de facto. There is no way that the NATO forces could avoid the being called a party to the conflict, that is, our enemy. In that case we would bring down the NATO bombers wherever they violate our air space. I assure you that our army is absolutely ready for that, indeed much readier than our enemies might suppose. We have issued a strict order that no occasion is to be given the UN anywhere to seek intervention of NATO forces. We will consider the United Nations responsible for every NATO action, since NATO is actually a hired killer, and whoever hired him must keep him on a short chain. Otherwise there will be consequences that will be experienced even by the United Nations forces in the field."

I noted out loud that the real masters of that hired killer seem not to be fortunate: They seem utterly unable to find a commander of the UNPROFOR whom they like and who will comply with their criminal intentions. They have forced out all the commanders, and now they are asking even for Gen. Rose to be replaced. Karadzic spread his hands to signify an ironic "Too bad," and he said: "Not a single one of all those commanders who have been replaced, nor Gen. Rose, came here with pro-Serb convictions. If they had any preconceptions, they were anti-Serb, and every one left with high opinions of both the Serbian people and the Serbian army. And every one of them has really been forced out solely because he was not sufficiently committed and effective against the Serbs.... We were even very seriously angry at Rose, and that is why we suspended relations with him in the case of Gorazde. But the Muslims and the U.S. want the UNPROFOR to be a simple support service for empty dreams and wishes on the part of the Muslims and Washington. I must say that to a fair extent the UNPROFOR has been on the Muslim side, but apparently not enough, and that is the reason for the frequent changes of their commanders."

Countless notes brought in by his zealous secretary had piled up on the desk in front of Karadzic, all bearing names of people waiting to see him. Under the burden of the demand on my informant's time, I had been trying to leave, and finally I asked him if he had any messages for our Russian friends, since DUGA is also read in Moscow. The mention of Russian friends brought light to his face as he remembered the ancient Slavic and Orthodox community: "We patiently hope that even in the Kremlin they will realize how important our struggle is to Russia. I say 'in the Kremlin' since the State Duma and the Russian people know this quite well. We hope that the effort of the forces of the Atlantic West to do a hasty job here which is actually directed against Russia before Russia recovers will finally show through. I can say without false modesty that the Serbian struggle here is doing service not only to the defense of Serbia, but also to that of Russia. Of course it is also in our interest for this war to be waged outside Serbia, since if Serbia is spared the fire and destruction, we will recover very easily after the victory."

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### Tudjman Holds Talks With Carter in Zagreb

*LD1812172994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1551 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Dec. 18 (TANJUG)—Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter here on Sunday [18 December] held talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, an announcement said.

They reportedly discussed the peace process in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Carter's peace mission during which he would hold talks also with president of the Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic.

The announcement said that Tudjman assessed Carter's mission as possibly beneficial.

Tudjman reiterated that Croatia would call off its hospitality to U.N. Protection Force "if Serbs in Croatia fail to implement the economic agreement signed with the Croatian Government," the announcement said.

This agreement, signed by Croatia and the republic of Serb Krajina on Dec. 2, provides for solving the problems of water and power supply, and the reopening of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway and an oil pipeline.

Carter said his talk with Tudjman was of the informative nature. he said he would meet Tudjman again after his meetings with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Radovan Karadzic.

Carter also had talks in Zagreb with Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Bosnian Muslim government.

Carter is on his peace mission at Karadzic's invitation and on approval by U.S. President Bill Clinton to go only as "a private citizen" of America.

### Krajina Leader Views Economic Accord With Zagreb

*LD1812211894 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2008 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 18 Dec (SRNA)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said today that the signing of the agreement on economic issues between the RSK and Croatia was "the maximum that could have been realized so far."

"We rid the agreement of all political attributes and connotations that the Croatian side tried to incorporate," Mikelic told Serb Radio Petrinja.

Mikelic explained "the success of the Krajina negotiators" by saying that the agreement was reached "as if both Croatia and RSK were internationally recognized" which, as he put it, "shows that we are being treated equally" despite the fact that RSK has not been internationally recognized and is being treated by the international community as an area under the United Nations. According to the Krajina prime minister, a center dealing with issues of the opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade expressway will begin to work in Okucani today.

The center will include representatives of the three Krajina ministries—for defense, internal affairs, and transport, Mikelic said.

Experts in these areas will monitor the reconstruction of all parts of the motorway along with the UN Protection Force and an official commission from the Okucani municipality.

### Local Deputies Propose Reopening Highway

*LD1612175594 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Okucani, 16 Dec (SRNA)—Deputies of the Okucani municipal assembly today adopted conditions for the reopening of a section of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway passing through the territory of western Slavonia, SRNA's correspondent reports from Okucani.

The conditions are based on proposals put forward by western Slavonian deputies in the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], the most dominant being the demand that the reopening of the thoroughfare must not threaten the security situation in western Slavonia. In view of this the deputies also demanded that military and police forces be beefed up by 2,000 men accommodated in makeshift barracks.

One of the conditions is the construction of a parallel alternative macadam, as well as access roads and overpasses to be supervised by the RSK army or police.

Also demanded were security guarantees for the free flow of goods and passengers from sector west to sector east, as well as from sectors east and west to Zagreb and Europe.

Also envisaged is the imposition of toll charges for international transport, payment for which would be in crude oil to be collected on a monthly basis in agreement with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and the relocation of UNPROFOR from facilities by the highway and their takeover by the Krajina Roads public enterprise.

The Okucani municipal assembly deputies demanded that the existing gas stations along the highway be placed under the authority of western Slavonia, and that a new gas station be built on the northern section of the highway in Okucani.

One of the demands for the reopening of the highway was to declare western Slavonia a customs-free zone.

These conclusions from the Okucani municipal assembly session will be submitted to the RSK assembly session scheduled for Saturday, 17 December.

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### Authorities Reportedly Close Border With Serbia

*AU1612205394 Skopje MIC in English 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The border between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and Serbia was closed at the border point General Jankovic yesterday, MAKPRESS conveys the announcement issued by the Kosovo Information Center.

The Center informed that the Macedonian border officials did not allow the citizens from "Kosovo" to cross the border yesterday, nor the Macedonian citizens to cross over to, as it was said, the "Kosovo side."

The news from the Kosovo Information Center about the alleged closing of the border from the Macedonian side has still not been officially confirmed.

### 'Calm' Prior to Opening

*AU1612220794 Skopje MIC in English 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] After the police action from two days ago, when the "seat" of the "university" in Albanian language in Tetovo was sealed, it was quite calm yesterday in the town under the Sara mountain. The president of the Council of the "university," Fadil Suleymani, who was taken to the police two days ago, was released in the evening hours that same day. Yesterday, Suleymani was seen in the market place, and afterward, he left for talks in Skopje.

It is uncertain what will happen with the announced formal opening of the "university" scheduled for tomorrow, exactly at noon. They are claiming in Menduh Tachi's and Arben Dzaferi's parties that the holding of the gathering in the Cultural Hall in Tetovo has been banned. Two days ago, representatives of the "Tachists," PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] of Nevzat Halili's, NDP [People's Democratic Party], the Forum for human rights from Gostivar and the Women's Association-Albanians, held a meeting. This meeting was also attended by the president of the Gostivar municipality and the vice president of the Tetovo Assembly. The intention was to form a kind of "crisis headquarters," in case it came to any unwanted developments.

It has been decided for the formal opening to be held in the hall of the Tetovo local assembly. If the police ban all public gatherings in relations to the "university" (and we unofficially heard something like that in Tetovo yesterday), then the opening will be held in one of the three to four "secret" locations, foreseen by the organizer.

A certain doze of relief can be felt among the Macedonians after the action from the two days ago. "The legal state is functioning, and that is the most important thing," the leader of the DPM [expansion unknown] and MP Tomislav Stojanovski-Bombay, told us. We received similar statements from two members of the leadership of the municipal SDAM organization.

We were unofficially informed that the deputy chief of the police station in Tetovo, Bekir Iseni, submitted his resignation yesterday, because of the police action.

It remains to be seen what will happen in Tetovo tomorrow. There are some announcements that protest gathering in support of the "university" might be organized. But, Tachi and Dzaferi, who promoted themselves as a political factor most sensitive about the initiative in the past three-four days, claim that they will continue acting only politically.

### University Opens; 7 Arrested

*LD1712160794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—Albanian political leaders announced in Tetovo today that the Albanian "University" had been opened in this northwestern Macedonian town, and provocatively told the authorities in Skopje that they could not be frightened by arrests such as the ones carried out early this morning.

Arben Dzaferi, leader of the radical political faction, said at a meeting in front of the town hall that "the university was opened shortly after midnight". Duped, the police, who expected "the ceremony" to take place at noon today as had earlier been announced, reacted by arresting early this morning "seven leading Albanian politicians" whose names have not been revealed yet.

As has been learned from local Albanian sources, Fadil Sulejmani, president of the initiative committee for the opening of "the University," who had been detained recently by the police, is still free.

Dzaferi told the clearly well-organized meeting of only around 400 hard-core supporters that the ceremony of opening the illegal university had been attended by all Albanian political leaders in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], including the ministers—members of the PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity]—in the coalition government formed two days ago.

Closely watched by police who encircled the Tetovo town hall, Dzaferi said that "the Albanian university in Macedonia is a fait accompli" and that no one will be able to prevent it from starting work early next year, as is envisaged.

Nevzat Halili, influential founder and former chairman of the PDP, defiantly exclaimed: "The university is open...who cares what Gligorov thinks!"

The gathering dispersed instananeously when members of special units suddenly appeared in the early afternoon hours.

The situation in Tetovo, where the approaches to the town are controlled by machine gun-toting police, is calm at the moment, but tensions are running high.

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There have been no statements on the alleged arrests, but various rumors are spreading like wildfire.

Albanian political leaders are obviously provoking the authorities in a premeditated way, demonstrating their authority in a town where their conationals constitute 75 percent of the population.

The FYROM Government, in which four ministerial posts are held by Albanians, yesterday slapped a ban on public gatherings in Tetovo and threatened to use all legal means to prevent the radical Albanian party.

According to officially released data from last summer's population census, Albanians account for 23 percent of the FYROM population. Macedonia's two universities—Skopje and Bitola—admit Albanian students in accordance with privileged criteria.

### University Founded

*AU1712191194 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, the Albanian University of Tetovo was founded in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. This is a celebrated event for the Albanian language and education in this republic. The promoting act of the foundation meeting was foreseen to be held at noon, in the building of the assembly of the Tetovo commune. As this building was surrounded by large Macedonian police forces, the announcement of the decision to found the university was held this morning, in the presence of representatives from Albanian political forces, representatives from Struge, Diber, Kercove, Kumanove, Tetovo, Gostivar, Manastir, Pirot, and Skopje communes, Albanian representatives in the Macedonian Government, deputies, advisers, intellectuals, etc.

According to the decision approved at today's foundation meeting, the Albanian university in Macedonia is appointed the University of Tetovo, with its headquarters in Tetovo and with the attribute of a judicial person. This university will first consist of these faculties: Faculty of Philology, Faculty of Philosophy, Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Faculty of Jurisprudence, Faculty of Economy, and Faculty of Arts.

The University of Tetovo will base its activity in the judicial and educational system of Macedonia. The plans and programs of this university are harmonized with those of the existing faculties in FYROM.

The university is led and governed by the senate, the scientific council, and rectorate. Until these bodies are constituted, the leading function will be played by the council for the foundation of the university and the chiefs of faculties. Until a consent agreement that the university will be financed by the budget of the Republic of Macedonia, the financial means for the activity of the university will be procured in a voluntary basis by the populace and various donors.

The council for the foundation of the university is obliged, within the next 60 days, to issue the statue of the university and all other normative acts. As of 20 December this year, the council will announce the contest for admittance and enrollment of students for the academic year 1994-1995. The decision takes effect today, the day when the University of Tetovo is founded.

### University Opens; Tensions Rise

*LD1712203694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1947 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The situation in Tetovo is calm this evening but police forces are still patrolling streets of the town in which the first illegal "Albanian university" in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was proclaimed open late last night.

Ethnic Macedonians in Tetovo are tense even though the day passed without incident. [passage omitted] Approaches to the town are still controlled by the police.

This morning's detention of certain members of the Albanian university's initiative committee was officially confirmed in Skopje this evening.

Dime Gruev, deputy secretary for public security told the private "A1" TV station that it was not detention but questioning that is still in progress.

### Police Tear Down Building

*AU1912112694 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Dec 94 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The Door of the So-Called Rector's Office Was Sealed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, in Tetovo, the police searched a building in which, according to the board of initiative for opening a university in the Albanian language, the rector's office was located, removing the entire documentation and sealing the rooms. In the Tetovo village of Mala Recica the roof of an annex was torn down as well as a concrete fence around the former local commune, intended to be a physics and chemistry laboratory for the projected university. At the same time, in the early morning hours, the police searched the headquarters of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] wing headed by Arben Djaferi. We have been unofficially informed that during these police actions, Fadil Sulejmani, president of the initiative board for the university in Tetovo, was arrested. The Interior Ministry did not issue official information on this yesterday.

Although tension greatly increased in Tetovo after this, there have not been any serious incidents. Yesterday, Arben Djaferi held a news conference about the intrusion of the police in their rooms and he said that all this was a bad sign for the future of Macedonia. At the same conference some members of the initiative board for the

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university indicated that "no matter how much is torn down, the university will be opened on 17 December."

## Reactions

*AU1912112994 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Dec 94 p 4*

[Report by Emil Sterjevski, Aleksandar Damovski: "Revolt and Dissatisfaction Because of the Police Intervention"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the police entered a house in Tetovo, at 68 Gjorce Petrov Street. The second floor of this house was planned to be the announced Rector's office of the University in Albanian in Tetovo. On the ground floor there are the offices of the humanitarian association called "El Hilal." The house belongs to the Islamic religious community. The place intended as the Rector's office was sealed. The sign of the self-proclaimed institution was also torn down.

In a village near Tetovo, Mala Recica (they say that it is inhabited by 12,000 people), a hundred or so local inhabitants, gathered in the center of the village. They were protesting because the police destroyed the fence and the roof, as they said, of the future chemistry and biology laboratory. It is the reconstructed local community building.

### "Beginning of an Undermining"

The rooms of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] wing headquarters headed by Arben Djaferi were searched. The party activists of this wing say that it was done without a warrant and that it represents a "typical example of repression...."

This morning there were rumors that Fadil Sulejmani, president of the initiative board for Tetovo university and Milaim Feiziu, president of the Gostivar Forum for Human Rights, were arrested in front of the house where the work of the university was announced to start....

In Tetovo, it looks as any other normal day. There are plenty of people, as usual, and the market is full. There are a lot of young people in and in front of the courtyard of the secondary school "Kiril Pejcinovic."

The moment we arrived at the house in which, according to the initiative board, the rector's office was planned to function, we met only a person employed in the humanitarian association "El Hilal," Nizamedin Jumniu. "They arrived here around 0900. There were three or four of them, and they presented some documents or suchlike." Meanwhile some NDP activists [People's Democratic Party] visited the house. "This is nothing but a police state," they commented.

In Mala Recica, several km from Tetovo, some other sources say that executors of the Ministry for Physical Planning, Traffic, and Ecology "removed" the annexes near and around the local commune office with the help of mechanization and with the assistance of the police, because the inhabitants had refused to do it themselves—they tore down concrete walls, a roof, and some smaller annexes. The event took place in the center of the village. And here there were around a hundred people that were apparently upset and nervous.

They say that in the early morning all roads to Recica were blocked by the police. Some of the gathered people wanted to talk to the journalists, others did not. "We shall defend this, today and tomorrow. We did not expect this. If we had known, everything would have been blown into the air." "We are asking for a school, not war. If the Macedonians do not want that, then there will be war." "This is the beginning of the undermining of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]." These are some of the euphoric comments made by some of the people gathered around us, while there were also others who tried to calm down the situation. However, they all agreed that this [police] action was blameworthy.

This is exactly the place where a part of Arben Djaferi's constituency is, and he is a member of parliament of the Macedonian Assembly and president of the PDP wing that was present at the event. He said that he "succeeded in channeling the negative energy of the gathered people." There are rumors of some people being arrested, but nobody can officially claim it. The rumors are mostly based on what the local television and radio stations announced. They also broadcast that while Djaferi's party headquarters were surrounded, the PDP leader Abdurahman Aliti was having talks with President Kiro Gligorov.

### "Nobody Can Stop the University"

We could not get in touch with some responsible persons in the communal police station to get official data. The message was to contact the Interior Ministry in Skopje. When we tried to do that, the message was even shorter—tomorrow!

It was extremely mobile in the PDP headquarters, where almost the whole top party leadership was gathered together with the MP's [members of parliament]. They were not gathered in this place and at this particular time by pure chance. When we asked them to say something more concrete about the events in Tetovo, their message was that the party presidency would hold a session, after which the public would be informed.

The situation was also similar in Arben Djaferi's and Menduh Taci's wing. Here we were informed that police actions were not carried out only in Tetovo, but also in some other towns in Macedonia, like Kumanovo, and the actions were against those who were collecting financial support to open a university in Tetovo. They even said that the murder in Skopje [a policemen killed a person in self-defense] was a part of the "series of police actions."

The tension was obvious, at least in the village of Mala Recica and in some party circles. They say that the

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Albanian population is insisting on going out to demonstrations in Tetovo and in some other towns inhabited by Albanians. The party leaders assured us that they would do their best to channel matters and to continue the dialogue with political means. However, they were decisive: "No matter how many buildings are torn down, nobody can stop the opening of the university."

### PDP Leader Assesses Events

*AU1912113094 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 15 Dec 94 p 4*

[Report by A.D. on Arben Djaferi's news conference: "The Most Important Thing Is To Prevent Disorder"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Concerning the latest events, the president of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] wing Arben Djaferi, who is also an MP, held a news conference in Tetovo yesterday in which he assessed these events as an attempt to destabilize the country, controlled and projected by those in power.

"All this will have great consequences on the future of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. These are signs of frustration at a system in which the problems are continually piling up, because appropriate analysis of the problems and requests are not being made, and thus disorder is repaid with repression. From today Macedonia cannot deny being a repressive state. There are now some forces that clearly articulate repression," Djaferi said, emphasizing that there is great pressure on their members and supporters to give up their mandates and organize demonstrations. Djaferi also said that he and Menduh Taci were present when the house in the village of Mala Recica (the constituency in which Djaferi was elected) was being torn down and that they were the ones who calmed the discontented crowd.

"Our party," Djaferi continued, "has not yet decided whether to withdraw from a system that does not respond to our requests, and whether to continue the dialogue afterwards. Our main goal now is to prevent disorder and to direct the energy of the people to a political settlement."

As for Menduh Taci, all this results from the degeneration of the system.

The news conference was attended by members of the initiative board for the foundation of the university in Albanian in Tetovo. Murtezani Ismaili said that "regardless of who destroys what, the university will be opened on 17 December." "This demonstrates that Macedonia is not interested in progress, but in repression," stated Ismaili.

The journalists were told that Sami Bekiri and Enver Bekiri were arrested, and that they are workers in the private printing house "Azra," where the materials for the university were printed. Djaferi also said that two days ago a meeting of representatives of his party and of the NDP [People's Democratic Party] was held in the rooms of the university, together with some MP's, at which consensus was reached regarding the opening of a university in the Albanian language in Tetovo.

### Security Tightened

*AU1912123094 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 18 Dec 94 pp 1,3*

[Bedri Sadiku, Ismail Arsllani report: "Albanian-Language University Founded"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tetovo, 16 Dec—Early this morning a regular meeting of the Founding Council made the decision to found the Albanian-language university of Tetovo. Besides members of the Initiating Council, chairmen of parties and other associations, ministers, deputies, and chairmen of communes signed this document.

The decree founding the university was signed by: Dr. Fadil Sylejmani, Dr. Murteza Ismaili, and Dr. Agni Dika of the university's founding council; Abdurrahman Haliti of the Party of Democratic Prosperity [PPD]; Iljaz Ralimi of the Popular Democratic Party; Xhemil Idrizi of the IDSH [expansion unknown] Liberal Party; Qenan Mazllumi of the Party of Democratic Action—Islamic Path; Milaim Fejzi of the Human Rights Forum; Myqereme Rusi, chairwoman of the Women's Association; Qemail Xhafa, chairman of the Debar Communal Assembly; Enver Zenku, chairman of the Gostivar Communal Assembly; and Shaqir Haliti, chairman of the Tetovo Communal Assembly.

The Albanian ministers in the Macedonian Government and the Albanian deputies in the Macedonian parliament also signed the document.

The founding assembly was held in the PPD offices.

Dr. Fadil Sylejmani said that the decision was made after preparations had been completed for the normal conduction of classes. This act was an expression of the aspirations of the Albanian people in Macedonia for education in their mother tongue at all levels, including university level. Nobody and no measure of coercion or violence can impede this good start to our work. All these steps against the university are doomed to failure. Adurrahman Haliti, PPD chairman, said that the founding assembly of the university had been held and that this was now a successfully accomplished fact. What is now important is to act on this decision and to make it institutional. This can only be done with work and wisdom, without euphoria and big words, but with work that must be understood as ordinary and entirely normal. It is very harmful to politicize and especially to give a party political hue to this work of education and civilization.

Yesterday and today, one could sense at every step that Macedonia was in an undeclared state of emergency. Macedonia's borders, especially with Kosova and

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Albania, were blockaded and Albanian citizens were not allowed to enter Macedonia at all. On the roads of Macedonia, one could see many police patrols armed with Kalashnikovs. All entries to the city of Tetovo had been blockaded from the early hours of the morning, and checkpoints and ramps had been installed, where the police checked the details of every citizen and stopped every car. Citizens who were not from Tetovo were not allowed to enter. The police even stopped the teams of journalists from Voice of America, Radio Sweden, and RILINDJA, stating that they had received orders not to allow anybody to enter Tetovo, although the journalists' accreditation and documents issued by the Macedonian Information Ministry were in order.

The Tetovo Communal Assembly and the building of the Gostivar Communal Assembly were in the meantime sealed off by cordons of the Macedonian police, armed to the teeth, who did not allow anybody to enter the buildings, not even the Albanian staff working in them. [passage omitted]

### Owen, Stoltenberg To Visit Skopje 17 Dec

*LD1712174894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1735 GMT 17 Dec 94*

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Dec. 17 (TANJUG)—International mediators David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg are to visit The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] late on Saturday, the state radio in Skopje said Saturday.

The radio quoted a Foreign Ministry statement that the co-chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, Stoltenberg and Owen, would on Sunday meet with FYROM President Kiro Gligorov.

The statement said that the meeting would be "used for a detailed exchange of views on the current situation in the region."

Observers said that the co-chairmen's sudden visit would be dedicated to FYROM's relations with its neighbors, primarily Greece and Yugoslavia, chances for peace in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and the overall situation in the former Yugoslavia.

Diplomatic circles in FYROM are showing keen interest in the upcoming talks in Skopje, because Stoltenberg and Owen are arriving from a visit to Belgrade.

Yugoslavia and FYROM do not have diplomatic relations.

Stoltenberg and Owen and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on Friday discussed the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the normalization of the Serb Krajina-Croatia economic relations.

### Owen, Stoltenberg Arrive

*LD1712204794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2026 GMT 17 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, co-chairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, arrived in Skopje this evening on a short visit to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

"This is one of our regular visits. We came to discuss the situation in the region and to see how we can help in solving the regional problems faced by President Kiro Gligorov and his government," Lord Owen said upon arrival at Skopje airport. [passage omitted ]

### Gligorov, Cochairmen Hold Talks

*LD1812185094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—President of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] Kiro Gligorov held talks in Skopje today with the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen. They discussed the foreign policy problems faced by Gligorov's government and the situation in the Balkans.

A statement on the talks says that President Gligorov stressed that his country's peaceful policy, internal stability, and European orientation had proved to be an important security factor in the Balkans.

Stoltenberg and Owen held a news conference this afternoon, but foreign correspondents were not allowed to attend. No explanation for that was given.

As TANJUG's reporter has learned, Gligorov also discussed with his guests multiparty economic assistance for FYROM, fragile interethnic relations in the area, the Macedonian-Greek conflict, future geo-political solutions in the Balkans, and the peace efforts in Bosnia and Croatia.

Stoltenberg and Owen arrived in Skopje last night after extensive talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade.

According to TANJUG's source, who wished to remain anonymous, late this afternoon Stoltenberg and Owen went to Belgrade to hold talks with the leaders of the Republic of Serb Krajina about establishing economic relations between Knin and Zagreb.

This evening Skopje TV station A1 confirmed that the co-chairmen returned to Belgrade, although that visit was not scheduled.

### FYROM Leaders, U.S. Envoy Hold Talks

*LD1612163594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Matthew Nimetz, special U.S. envoy for the dispute

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between Greece and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM], held talks with the top leadership of FYROM in Skopje today.

After the meeting with President Kiro Gligorov, Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, and Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski, Nimetz told journalists that his visit to Skopje was the continuation of his mediation in the talks between the two sides.

Despite "the traditional American optimism," Nimetz could not point to any progress that could lead to a compromise solution in the Greek-Macedonian dispute, although all controversial issues were discussed—including the flag, Constitution, and name of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as well as Greece's trade embargo against its northern neighbor.

During lengthy talks between Nimetz and Gligorov—attended by Victor Comras, head of the American liaison office in Skopje—the Macedonian president was handed a letter from U.S. President Bill Clinton, congratulating him on his electoral victory and giving his assessment of the situation in the Balkans.

### Crvenkovkski Announces Proposal for Government

*AU1612205294 Skopje MIC in English 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Last night, half an hour before midnight, the mandator Branko Crvenkovski held a press conference at which he announced his proposal for the new composition of the new government. Beside the prime minister, the executive power has a total of 19 minister seats, of which four are without portfolio.

The Social Democratic Alliance, according to the mandator's proposal, has eight ministers, plus one without a department; the Liberal Party will hold three ministerial seats with departments and one minister without portfolio; PDP [Party of Democratic Prosperity] has the same formation as the Liberal Party; the Socialist party will participate in the executive power with two ministers, of whom one is without portfolio. Crvenkovski proposes the following people for ministers in the new government: Blagoj Handziski, Defense Ministry; Ljubomir Frckovski, Interior Ministry; Vlado Popovski, Ministry of Justice; Stevo Crvenkovski, Foreign Ministry; Jane Miljovski, minister of finance; Risto Ivanov, minister of economy; Bekir Zhuta, minister of development; Jorgo Sundovski, minister of urbanization, construction, and protection of living environment; Dimitar Buzlevski, minister of transportation and communication; Ivan Angelov, minister of forestry, agriculture, and water supply; Iljaz Sabriu, minister of labor and social policy; Sofia Todorova, minister of science; Eshref Aliu, minister of culture; and Iliya Filipche, minister of health.

The following will be without departments in the new government: Sasko Stefkov, Ljupco Trpevski, and Muhamed Halili, while Gjuner Ismail will be minister-spokesman of the government. [passage omitted]

### Cooperation of PDP in Government Announced

*AU1612102794 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 15 Dec 94*

[Report by Biserka Povse Tasic from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The hard 20-day-long negotiations conducted by Macedonian Prime Minister-designate Branko Crvenkovski must, according to the Constitution, end a minute before midnight at the latest. What is known so far is that the Albanian candidates from the moderate Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] will also be on the list of candidates for ministers. This was announced this evening by PDP President, Abdurahman Aliti, who said that they would have four ministers in the executive office.

The remaining ministerial posts should, on the basis of the number of deputies' seats, be divided among the three ruling parties—the Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and the Socialist Party.

The cooperation of Albanians in the government was doubtful until the very last moment, primarily due to complications surrounding the functioning of the Albanian university in Tetovo. Namely, the party was thinking of renouncing its participation in the government due to yesterday's police intervention in the demolition of a building of one of the future Albanian faculties. [passage omitted]

The new ministers will, regardless of party gains in dickering with ministerial posts, be faced with the resolution of the Macedonian-Greek dispute in the international sphere and, at home, with strained interethnic relations and with social tensions connected to the structural changes, namely, additional job losses.

The stable development of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] would, thus, be one of the key directives of the new cabinet, which must also secure the approval of the parliament for its ministers and its program.

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## Federal

### Government Condemns Croatian Activities in Bosnia

*LD1912113094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] condemns in the strongest possible terms the presence of Croatia's regular army units on the territory of the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina and their direct involvement in clashes in the Glamoc, Livanjsko Polje and [Bosansko] Grahovo areas, a statement issued by the government and carried by the Federal Information Secretariat stresses.

According to reliable reports, several thousand members of Croatia's regular army and its heavy weapons are deployed in northwestern Bosnia. Their involvement in clashes in foreign territory has been accompanied by a big media campaign in the republic of Croatia.

Croatia's military action constitutes a gross violation of international law and UN Charter principles and is a flagrant violation of UN Security Council Resolutions 752, 757, and 787.

By provoking an escalation of the conflict, Croatia has been directly opposing the efforts of the international community and particularly the contact group's efforts to find a peaceful and just solution for the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The FRY supports efforts made by the UN via UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] with the aim of securing an immediate withdrawal of the regular army units of the Republic of Croatia from the territory of former Boznia-Hercegovina.

The government of the FRY asks the Security Council and the UN to urgently undertake all necessary measures towards the republic of Croatia with the aim of ending its [Croatia's] military and any other involvement in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as all military provocations against the Republic of Serb Krajina, the federal government's statement says in conclusion.

### Article Examines Extent of Unemployment, Poverty

*AU1912121894 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 94 p 7*

[Article by Zora Mijatovic: "What To Do With a Million Surplus Workers"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It is estimated that at this moment about 1 million of the 2.2 million people on the payroll in Yugoslavia are surplus. Economists claim that they represent a burden to the social and state-owned firms, and one of the obstacles to the recovery of the national economy.

The fate of the "surplus workers" will become more uncertain when the sanctions that the international community has introduced against Yugoslavia are lifted and when the laws preventing redundancies and the closure of unsuccessful firms stop being valid. This is why there is much interest at present as to whether enterprises will continue to be social institutions, or whether the state will take over the care of workers who find themselves out of work.

#### Healthy Economy or Social Peace

When the program for the economic recovery of the country was being drafted for this year, social policy experts in Avramovic's team took the view that firms should be freed of their social functions in order to make them more efficient. The optimal solution, they thought, would be if all the surplus work force was made redundant from the socially-owned firms right at the beginning of the implementation of Avramovic's plan. However, there would be no new jobs for them in the undeveloped Yugoslav labor market. It was even proposed that 200,000 of them be immediately made redundant and that alternative solutions be found for the rest. It was worked out that another 300,000 people could leave companies this year without fear for their livelihood as their families have incomes from agriculture of private business. Experts take the view that the state should take care of 500,000 surplus workers by making provisions for them in the budget. This would require about 1.5 percent of the GNP. [passage omitted]

According to Tomislav Banovic, head of the Serbian Confederation of Trade Unions, the open question is how 1.850 million of those employed in the republic can support almost 700,000 unemployed and 1.2 million pensioners. The two main aims of the social program should be the protection of the socially disadvantaged and the creation of social security for those in employment. We demand that those who work be enabled to look after their social position and their families with their own incomes. We also want criteria and conditions to be set when someone can be supported by the state. The program for the economic recovery of the country, which the Serbian Trade Union Confederation has supported, does not deal with this section of social policy and the government must urgently solve this.

**[Box, p 7]**

#### Poverty in Figures

According to the research of the Economic Institute in Belgrade, nearly 17,000 Yugoslavs today eat in soup kitchens since they have no other choice. According to statistics, 60,000 families are receiving material aid, depending on how poor they are, though this is nowhere near what they need. According to the information of the

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Institute for Social Policy in Belgrade, there about 700,000 unemployed in Serbia alone. Of these, 180,000 are receiving social assistance, while 500,000 of them are being supported by their parents. Two-thirds are below the age of 30, while one-half are qualified workers. Of the 94,000 unemployed registered at the Unemployment Office in Belgrade, of which 70 percent are women, only 13,326 had found a job for an unspecified length of time in the first half of this year.

### UN General Assembly Decisions Viewed

*LD1812154094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 18 Dec 94*

["Pool" item by Vjekoslav Radovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Dec. 18 (TANJUG)—When presiding Ambassador Amara Essy marks the end of the autumn 49th U.N. General Assembly session on Dec. 23, its results will be measured in quantity—tons of paper.

However, if one considers the quality of its work, at least regarding documents on the crisis in former Yugoslavia, the General Assembly could hardly get a pass mark, despite the fact that most of its decisions were non-binding and as such adopted routinely.

This largely pertains to the resolutions on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the allegedly occupied territories of Croatia, and the situation regarding human rights in Bosnia, Yugoslavia and Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija.

The assembly went so far as to adopt a separate document for Kosovo and Metohija, as if the region were not part of the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro.

One of the few efficient decisions of this session is the admission of the Republic of Palau to the United Nations, an island state with hardly 16,000 citizens.

Meanwhile, there was again no vote for the 10.5-million Yugoslavs, because Yugoslavia is still suspended from the work of this body, despite all its peace efforts.

Yugoslav Ambassador Dragomir Djokic, as past year, wrote letters to U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali in which he indicated the many untruths in documents and discussions at the General Assembly session.

None of this, however, reached the Assembly delegates, who easily voted in favor of any presented issue.

It is sufficient to mention the resolutions on human rights for the area of former Yugoslavia, which accuse only Serbs of human rights violations.

As so many times before, Serbs are again blamed for mass persecution, "ethnic cleansing" operations, rape and other crimes.

The resolutions do not even mention the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Serbs from Croatia and Muslim- and Croat-controlled parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The resolution on the situation regarding human rights in Kosovo and Metohija contained countless untruths, even that the Albanian language had been banned from public use.

The General Assembly again adopted a document appealing for compensation for damages to those countries which are suffering losses as a result of the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

A similar appeal adopted last year, however, fared no better than Ambassador Djokic's letters to Butrus-Ghali.

The United States this year again managed to push through a resolution on rape in war-torn areas of former Yugoslavia. The resolution blames practically only Serbs for rape, and makes no mention of these crimes committed by the other warring sides.

After the initial claims that Serbs in Bosnia raped 60,000 women, the figure was narrowed down to 20,000, and then U.N. documents later said there were 300 such cases.

The latest resolution on rape gives no figure at all, perhaps to prevent anyone from comparing it with the figure for the number of women raped this year in the United States, where there was no war.

## Serbia

### Milosevic, Cochairmen Discuss Peace Process

*LD1612183794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1756 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Thorvald Stoltenberg and David Owen, the cochairmen of the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia, who arrived in Belgrade with their aides.

During the talks they lent full support to the efforts to restore peace throughout the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and to start bringing to a conclusion the agreement on complete cessation of hostilities between the parties in conflict, the Serbian president's office has announced.

It was stressed that the crisis in the region must be solved by political means, which implies the continuation and completion of the negotiating process on the basis of the offered peace plan. It was also established that efforts directed toward the positive development of some elements of the peace plan should be sustained. In this context, the proclaimed commitments and explanations given by the contact group are of particular importance.

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The statement says that they had also discussed further steps toward the implementation of the recently signed agreement on the normalization of economic relations between Knin and Zagreb.

Serbia is in favor of this agreement being implemented as soon as possible in an effective way, because it believes that the normalization of economic relations in the UN protected areas is the best way to ease the tensions and create conditions for progress in the negotiating process on the way to a political solution to the crisis in the area.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic also took part in the talks.

### Milosevic To Visit Greece, Meet Papandreou

*LD1612181994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will visit Greece on 19 December, at the invitation of Greek Prime Minster Andreas Papandreou, Milosevic's office announced today.

The Serbian president and the Greek prime minister are expected to hold talks on the most important issues concerning the future successful development of bilateral relations between Serbia, or rather, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Greece, as well as on the main aspects of the political situation in the region.

During his visit to Athens, Milosevic is expected to meet a number of leading Greek politicians.

The Serbian president will be accompanied by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

### Carter, 'Contact Group' To Visit Belgrade

*LD1912121194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1156 GMT 19 Dec 94*

[Report by diplomatic editor Stevan Cordas]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 19 (TANJUG)—Former United States President Jimmy Carter, who started a mediating mission on the Bosnian conflict, will arrive in Belgrade on Tuesday, Western diplomatic circles have said.

According to previous announcements, members of the international 'Contact Group' are also to arrive in Belgrade on Monday. Russian presidential envoy Aleksandr Zotov has said the Contact Group will meet with Yugoslav and Serbian leaders, most likely on Tuesday.

There are indications that co-chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg might also arrive in Belgrade on Tuesday.

Belgrade will thus continue to act in coordination with the world centers where a political solution to the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is being sought.

The Monday visit to Athens of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic is also part of Belgrade's lively diplomatic activity, aimed at ending the Bosnian conflict.

Carter's mission attracts great attention in the world, but assessments and forecasts are very restrained. One of the conclusions is that, unlike his missions in North Korea and Haiti, he has no experience regarding developments in the Balkans.

Carter has already visited Zagreb and Sarajevo and is currently in the Bosnian Serb administrative center of Pale.

The visits of the Contact Group and Carter to Belgrade on the same mission and on the same day appear to be a mere coincidence.

This, however, seems to be a good opportunity for settling certain dilemmas about Carter's mission that exist in the Contact Group.

The vital question is whether Carter's actions regarding the Bosnian conflict will be in accordance with international stands, or more precisely, those of the Contact Group.

The Contact Group that comprises Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany was formed in February.

Under the Contact Group plan, the Bosnian Muslim-Croat federation would get 51 percent of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serbs 49 percent.

### SRS Offical Views Recent Visit to Pale

*AU1812183494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 94 p 4*

[Report by M. Mikuljanac: "Expensive Coffee at Milosevic's"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade—The delegation of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], which recently paid a visit to Pale at the invitation of the Srpska republic [RS] leadership, has returned with the impression that the Bosnian Serb leadership is not in any way involved in the latest dealings involving the Srpska republic, SRS Vice President Tomislav Nikolic yesterday told reporters.

The Radicals spent an entire day in talks with Karadzic, Krajisnik, Koljevic, Buha, and Ostojic, because—so they claim—they wanted to reassure themselves on the spot "just how resolute they [RS leadership] were in rejecting the maps, how great was Slobodan Milosevic's influence, and of whether there is a rift among the RS leadership."

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Nikolic assessed that, considering Milosevic's minor influence in the RS, the international community would in future have to negotiate with the RS, while Pale would condition the resumption of negotiations with the world's more lenient attitude toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and RS.

When recounting his talks with the RS Assembly deputies who had participated in talks with the Serbian president, Nikolic said that at the beginning they had all been fascinated by Milosevic because they had the impression they were facing a great man. "However, after the first few sentences, and after hearing Milosevic's proposals, the deputies concluded that the coffee they had with him was extremely expensive," Nikolic says.

Next week the Radicals will once more set off for the RS, where they will tour all the fronts and hold several promotional public debates. They will also tour the republic of Serbian Krajina, where—according to Nikolic—large-scale betrayal was at hand orchestrated by Borislav Mikelic and Milan Babic. "The fact that UN planes are dropping Croatian leaflets over the Krajina calling the people to put their trust in Babic clearly implies what is being prepared," believes Nikolic. [passage omitted]

### Unkovic, Russians Discuss Nuclear Accelerator

*LD1612213894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Slobodan Unkovic, Serbian deputy prime minister and science and technology minister, today received Yuriyan Oganesiyan [name as transliterated], director of the laboratory for nuclear research at the institute in Dubna, and laboratory member Rubek Oganesiyan [name as transliterated], the republic's Information Ministry has announced.

The talks underlined the interest of the Republic of Serbia in the knowledge and experience of Russian scientists and institutions, as well as the Russian Federation's interest in the construction of the Tesla nuclear accelerator.

This cooperation will figure prominently in the program for scientific cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Serbia, discussed in detail in Moscow during Minister Unkovic's meeting with B.G. Saltykov, the Russian Federation's science and technology policy minister .

Deputy Prime Minister Unkovic stressed that the Serbian Government would secure funds through the Science and Technology Ministry in 1995 for the next stage in the completion of the Tesla accelerator.

The reception at the Serbian Government building was also attended by academician Dusan Kanazir, vice president of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Science and chairman of the executive council of the Vinca institute; Miroslav Kopecni, director of the Vinca institute; and Dragan Popovic, director of the physics institute, the statement says.

## Kosovo

### SPS Official Denies Kosovo, Kosmet Division

*AU1812213794 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 94*

[Report by Goran Babovic from Prizren—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Babovic] The question of whether Kosovo and Metohija [Kosmet] are a part of Serbia, that is, whether they will secede from Serbia, is an issue that has been solved long ago, and politically and judicially legalized by the 1990 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, said Goran Percevic, vice president of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], at an SPS public debate in Prizren.

[Percevic] Those people who today ask such political questions are either separatists who have lived to see their political defeat back in 1990, or various political demagogues and troublemakers who in this way wish to score cheap political points. The true question which should now be asked as far as the SPS is concerned is how to launch the process of economic development and cultural renewal of Kosovo and Metohija, how to mobilize the immense natural resources and potential, and everything else that Kosovo has for its development. Therefore, the basic issue for us today is how to launch the process of economic development in Kosovo. By solving this issue and this problem we will best address the issue of the return of those who have moved away, but also the arrival of new, expert cadres to this part of Serbia.

[Babovic] Vojislav Zivkovic, chairman of the SPS Regional Council for Kosovo and Metohija, addressed certain issues that have appeared in the public and that pertain to the alleged division of the southern Serbian province.

[Zivkovic] In the past few months, certain highbrow Belgrade intellectual circles have, very pointedly, launched the thesis that Kosmet will be divided because this is allegedly the only way to stabilize the general situation in the Republic of Serbia. The SPS has since the very first day it was formed presented to the public the basic platform that the Republic of Serbia is one entity and as such indivisible. The SPS has in the past few years proved and shown that it is a party that does not deviate from its basic principles.

[Babovic] The SPS public debate in Prizren was also addressed by Slavisa Ilic, vice president of the Young Socialists of Serbia, and Zvonko Martinovic, president

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of the Kosovo branch of the Young Socialists. A delegation of the Belgrade branch of the Young Socialists also attended the gathering.

### Albanian National Front Leaders on Trial

*AU1912112594 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Dec 94 p 10*

[A. Muhaxheri, H. Mekaj report: "A Legal Party Before the Court"]

[FBIS translated text] Peje [Pec], 15 Dec—After the end of the trial of the Peje communal leader, whose verdict is expected to be announced on 16 December, the Serbian District court here began another trial. The leaders of the Peje-based National Front [Balli Kombetar] were placed in the dock. The defendants are Naser Husaj, Hamdi Morina, Muhamet Gashi, Agim Curri, Nimon Mulliqi, and Rrustem Xhelaj. They are charged with having committed incriminating acts under Articles 136 and 116 of the Penal Code of self-styled Yugoslavia.

This is the first time that the Serbian regime in Kosova has placed the leadership of an Albanian party in the dock since the introduction of so-called political pluralism in the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

This trial is being conducted by the same bench of judges led by Dragoljub Zdravkovic from Prishtina and the same prosecutor, Miladin Popovic. This anti-Albanian trial is also being held in the same courtroom.

On the first day, the first tour defendants were examined, while the other two remain to be questioned. Prosecutor Miladin Popovic read out a short version of the charges.

The leadership of this party is accused of having founded in 1992 the National Front, which the Serbian regime calls "a continuation of the quisling organization during world War II." The defendants are charged with having contacted diplomats of the French, German, Austrian, Italian, and Hungarian embassies, as well as the embassies of the United States and Switzerland by telephone. They are accused of having approved a program and statute that state in one place that Kosova must be liberated from "the Slavic occupier." The charge sheet goes on to state that the defendants were in Austria (where they contacted representatives of the Liberal Party), Albania, etc., that they established contacts with the Central Committee of the National Front in the Swiss capital Berne, and that the aim of this National Front is the unification of the Albanian lands.

National Front Chairman Naser Husaj (1957), speaking in his own defense stressed that this party worked legally, not underground, as had been stated. He said that the party's aim was to unite all the Albanian territories by peaceful means and to liberate Kosova, now under occupation by the Serbian army and militia for five years. Naser Husaj said that the Albanian people had opted in their referendum for an independent and neutral state of Kosova and had elected the president of the republic and the parliament, which he too respected.

Hamdi Morina (1948), an English teacher from the village of Loxhe; Muhamet Cashi (1963), from the village of Qyshk; and Agim Curri (1951), a high school teacher from Strelic near Decan, also spoke in their own defense. They all denied the charges.

The trial continues tomorrow with the examination of the defendants Nimon Mulliqi and Rrustem Xhelaj.

### Defendants Sentenced

*LD1612180094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 16 Dec 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Pec, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The Pec District Court today passed sentences of several years in jail on members of the hostile Albanian organization "the Party of Bali Kombetar."

Naser Musaj (37) was sentenced to five years in jail, Muhamed Gasi (31) and Nimon Mulici (50) to four and half years each, Hamdi Morina (35) to three and a half years in prison and Rustem Djeljaj (44) and Agim Curi (43) to a year and a half each.

The explanation of the sentence stresses that the group advocated an armed rebellion in Kosmet [Kosovo-Metohija] and the creation of a united Albanian state. Their strategic commitment was to liberate Kosovo from the Orthodox occupation force. With this in view they appealed on several occasions to foreign states to launch a military intervention against Serbia and Montenegro, and publicly called on their compatriots to oppose even the legal state bodies.

The Pec district court today also passed sentences on the officials of the parallel authorities of the so-called Republic of Kosovo for the Pec municipality.

Aver Husaj (35) was sentenced to three years in jail, Ali Sulca (54) and Ilir Taci (39) to two years, while Saban Salja (46) and Redzep Muljhadja (50) were sentenced to a year and a half in jail each.

Following instructions from Albanian political parties and implementing the orders of the so-called Kacanik constitution, they formed parallel authorities for the Pec municipality, whereby they committed the crime of threatening Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.

### Electricity Reportedly Transmitted to Serbia

*95P20286A Ljubljana REPUBLIKA in Slovenian 9 Dec 94 p 7*

[Article by B.Sh. "Electricity for Serbia, But Not for Kosovo"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina — As a result of special conservation measures introduced by the Serbian Power Distribution Company, Kosovo households are without electricity 15 hours a day. Difficulties caused by UN sanctions and numerous breakdowns in powerplants have forced the Serbian power industry to introduce restrictions, which are applied to Pristina and Kosovo, but not to Belgrade.

To add insult to injury, it is the Obilic thermal power plant near Pristina that produces 960 megawatts daily, of which 710 megawatts go to Serbia. Well informed sources in Pristina claim that, despite sanctions, 50 to 100 megawatts of electric power are exported to Macedonia, for which, of course, Skopje pays Belgrade 3 million dollars per month, according to estimates of experts.

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